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SOME NUBIAN PETROGLYPHS

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SOME NUBIAN PETROGLYPHS ON CZECHOSLOVAK CONCESSIONS

ROCK DRAWINGS OF (I) FOOT AND SANDAL PRINTS, (II) SYMBOLS AND
SIGNS, AND (III) EROTICA FROM CZECHOSLOVAK CONCESSIONS IN NUBIA

UNIVERSITA KARLOVA — PRAHA 1973

**RESULTS OF EXPEDITIONS ORGANIZED BY THE CZECHOSLOVAK INSTITUTE OF
EGYPTOLOGY AT CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN 1961—1965 WITHIN THE UNESCO
CAMPAIGN TO SAVE THE MONUMENTS OF NUBIA THREATENED WITH THE WATERS
OF THE ASWAN HIGH DAM**

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

The study "Some Nubian Petroglyphs" goes to print somewhat sooner than the catalogue of all rock drawings from Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia, the delay in publishing the latter being caused by technical problems. Since the manuscript of the catalogue has already been finished, however, the author of the study presented here respected in the main the system of the catalogue using, for example, the fixed numbers of finds, exact names of Nubian locations on Czechoslovak concessions, descriptions of techniques and patinas, etc.

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FOREWORD

This study consists of three thematically complete parts and presents an elaboration of the relatively extensive set of rock drawings of foot and sandal prints, symbols, signs and erotica found on Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia. It takes into consideration the fact that the material under survey varies ■ great deal and comes from rather a small area. This does not mean, however, that it *a priori* adopts a narrow approach to the research such as to prevent us from making conclusions on a more general plane. In no case does it strive to be a final global elaboration of the problems involved, neither is it an attempt at a descriptive detailed evaluation of individual rock drawings. It is neither our concern to deal in greater detail with general problems relating to various techniques, patinas, etc., which will be discussed in a far more suitable context, namely, in "The Catalogue of Rock Drawings from Czechoslovak Concessions in Nubia." The present work tries to take into account the specificity of the set of finds under survey, which stems from the fact that it comprises on the one side rock drawings and on the other symbols with frequently developing or changing religious, magic or other backgrounds, accompanied sometimes by texts. Therefore, the character of the set of finds under review required application of certain methods common both in pre-history and history. Wherever possible, we have tried to select and fix chronologically by means of those methods the main types of Czechoslovak finds of rock drawings representing foot and sandal prints, symbols, signs and erotica, including their variants. We also sought to discover a maximum of connections both within the set of finds alone and in its relation to the environment, while evaluating thoroughly the importance and the place of the set in a wider context of other rock drawings on Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia.

**ROCK DRAWINGS
OF FOOT AND SANDAL PRINTS
FROM CZECHOSLOVAK CONCESSIONS
IN NUBIA**

I.

INTRODUCTION

Representations of human feet and footprints have appeared in various parts of the world from the Upper Palaeolithic Times onwards. We do not come only upon drawings on the walls of the caves of the Francocantabrian circle but also upon deliberately made, deep prints of human feet on the ground surrounding fireplaces or on the well-trampled ground of those cave-galleries which used to witness magic hunting rites of primeval people. From time immemorial, there has existed a belief in primitive societies that a touch transfers a mysterious magic power from one person to another. This is why the limbs, the hands, and the legs are considered important and effective conductors of that power. Even the soil entered upon by a man endowed with supernatural power is „saturated“ by the power and so is, even more than that, the footprint he leaves behind. Good and evil intentions may come next. In the latter case it is sufficient to „saturate“ the soil upon which the person entered or the footprint he left behind with impure power, i. e. to bewitch it.¹ The customs and magic conceptions of contemporary primitive hunting societies exhibit exceptional interest in human feet and footprints. Australian aborigines, for example, tell by the footprints around the grave of the deceased how he behaves in the other world.² Among some Arab tribes there has survived the custom of telling one's future from his footprints. Winkler³ mentions the ability of contemporary Nubian nomads to identify not only their own footprints but those of their relatives as well. Footprints thus represent a „signature“, a characteristic distinguishing sign. Hence the ability of primitive hunters and nomads not only to identify the owner of footprints but roughly guess at his intentions as well. The foot and its print have thus had an important position in the magico-religious conceptions of the people⁴ since very ancient times, becoming in the course of time a suitable object of other associations. The fact that the original meanings differed does not necessarily presuppose the existence of a primary centre from which the customs and conceptions related to footprints would spread. On the contrary, it is an idea which has a general character and which we can expect at a certain stage of development of every human community. Therefore, it is necessary to take this reality into consideration also in the case of rock drawings of foot and sandal prints from Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia in which we cannot a priori exclude their connection with the development of local inhabitants, with their customs and conceptions.

It is our belief that the best way to apprehend the set of rock drawings is to survey the custom of representing foot and sandal prints in various parts of the world, especially in the area of the Mediterranean Sea and north-eastern Africa. At the same time we would like to record their chronology and the most important meaning attributed to them in separate parts of the world. In our view, this can facilitate our understanding of broader connections, if there are any, between Nubian rock drawings of foot and

sandal prints and those in other parts of the world. Such an intention, however, brings about the necessity of a detailed recording of the very extensive comparative material we have at disposal from all parts of the world. Consequently, there seems to be no other solution but stating in a very succinct informative manner some basic facts and problems connected with them, leaving aside any ambitious attempt at their solution. This decision underlies the first two chapters in particular.

A GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION, CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT, AND MEANING OF THE REPRESENTATIONS OF FOOT AND SANDAL PRINTS

1

A great number of rock drawings of foot and sandal prints comes from *Scandinavia*. In Sweden the drawings concentrate especially on the islands and rocks around the Nämforsen waterfalls (the so-called Northern Swedish group the rock drawings of which have an obvious magico-venatic character related to the idea of multiplying prey and directing the game into a natural trap, i. e. the waterfalls) and on the rocks and walls of box tombs in the central and southern parts of the country (the so-called Central and Southern Swedish groups the drawings of which are obviously connected with the religious imagination of farmers). As far as the drawings of foot and sandal prints are concerned we can assume that because of the ban on portraying god — and portrayals of gods appear there surprisingly rarely! — it was possible to depict only his sole or sandal prints as the representing symbols. Some of the rock drawings of foot and sandal prints can be explained by means of sympathetic magic: they were to compel a ghost, demon, disease, etc. to leave for good.⁵ It is also interesting to note that the Swedish drawings occur very often in connection with drawings of solar symbols, wheels and ships. Therefore, the combination of footprints and ships in particular is sometimes explained as a symbol of victory over a foreign navy. The Swedish rock drawings of foot and sandal prints are dated to the Bronze Age and, in the more remote northern areas, to the Bronze/Iron Age. As to their themes, employed techniques, and chronological classification, the rock drawings of foot and sandal prints found in several other Scandinavian countries belong to the same group, namely, Island (where, according to an ancient custom, the so-called *Helschuhe* were put on the grave of the deceased so that he could walk to the Walhalla)⁶, Denmark, Norway (the sites are situated mainly in Annsjön and Jämtland) and Finland.⁷ This Scandinavian group includes also the naturalistic and stylized rock drawings of footprints (those of sandals either occur very rarely or are missing completely) in the north-western areas of the U.S.S.R., especially the surroundings of Lake Onyega. Particularly striking are continuous arrays of drawings representing footprints or prints of animal paws and hoofs by means of which the pre-historic artist wanted to express movement and provide the scenes from the life of northern hunters and fishermen with dynamic liveliness. Those rock drawings are regarded as quite Neolithic, being dated to the second half of the third and the beginning of the second centuries B.C.⁸

The *West-European group* of rock drawings of foot and sandal prints is best represented by finds from France. The importance attributed to human footprints in that area is apparent from the finds in the caves of the Frankocantaberran circle dated as back as the Upper Palaeolithic times.⁹ Much younger are numerous rock drawings of footprints, for example, at Pierre-Le-Mulot in Bleurville (Vosges), on the megalith of "Rowler" type at Nanteau-sur-Essone (Seine-et-Marne), and elsewhere.¹⁰ The rock

drawings are dated either to the Neolith or the Post-Roman Period and the local tradition considers them memorials of the revelation on those spots of several Christian saints such as Saint Ann, Saint Martin, and Virgin Mary.¹¹ Boulders with drawings of footprints are sometimes regarded as boundary stones.¹² In other cases, when the footprints are arranged in such a way as to symbolically represent standing persons looking at the rising sun, they are viewed as evidence of the cult of solar deity whose protection and beneficial influence those persons beg for.¹³ Baudouin¹⁴ gives an interesting example of how some of the old customs have survived in southern France until today. There is a bronze plate on the town-hall in the town of Solferino, the Les Landes district, with a foot relief and the inscription "He laid his foot (i. e. Napoleon III in August 1857) on Les Landes to make them fertile".

The most outstanding and numerous group of foot and sandal prints representations comes from the *Mediterranean area*. If we start from the West, we shall come upon the first finds of this kind in Portugal, Spain,¹⁵ and especially in Italy¹⁶. In ancient Rome the footprint was often closely connected with the cults of Mithras, Cybele and Caelestis.¹⁷ Representations of foot and sandal prints can be found not only on the walls and floors of temples or other important buildings but Roman votive stelae, lamps, amulets and pottery as well.¹⁸ Also the Swiss-Italian area seems to have given birth to one of the youngest vintages of this kind: in Upper Lumino, the Ticino canton, there is in one house a walled-in stone with a footprint representation dated by Guarducci¹⁹ to the Middle Ages! This is offered as an interesting proof of how the custom of depicting human feet or sandals survived a long time after it had flourished in the Mediterranean area, i. e. the period delimited roughly by the rise of ancient Greece and Rome. We would naturally expect that it is Greece where we can find the richest sites with representations of foot and sandal prints. The reality is different, however. No find of this kind was ever discovered on the Greek peninsula (if we disregard, of course, the rare ex-voto found in the Dionysos theatre in Athens; it is a marble stela with the big sole of a sandal in relief, on the sole being also in relief a walking bearded man dressed in a long robe with his right hand raised in a begging gesture.²⁰ The contrast is greater, however, between the Greek peninsula and Greek colonies, the places with permanent Greek influence and the islands in the Greek Sea such as, for example, Lesbos²¹, Syros, Thera²², Delos, Paros, Kyzikos²³ and the territories in south-western Asia Minor.²⁴ One exceptionally notable find comes from Asia Minor, from the Kizildag locality: there are several pairs of footprints engraved next to a Hittite inscription and a carving dated perhaps to the twelfth or eleventh century B.C.²⁵ Footprint representations are known from southern Russia as well.²⁶ Our list of this kind of vintages from the eastern Mediterranean area must not leave out the important finds of ex-votis representing human feet and coming from Crete. They were discovered during the excavations at Petsofa and are dated to the Middle Minoan Period I. II, i. e. the beginning of the second millenium B.C.²⁷

The occurrence of foot and sandal print representations remains equally intensive in the Near Eastern region as well. According to local tradition, those vintages are attributed to the Prophet or, occasionally, to some sheikhs; in the places with old Christian tradition they are ascribed to Jesus Christ, apostles, saints, etc. Thus, for example, in Syria, footprint representations are said to belong either to the Prophet or Archangel Gabriel. A typical example of adopting much older vintages by later Christian and Muslim traditions can be seen in the footprints on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem. The Christian tradition says that it was Christ who left them there before his Ascension. Today the footprints are in the centre of a church built around them by Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great. A considerable number of carvings

of foot and sandal prints has been found in the complex of Nabatean rock temples at Petra. Dalman²⁸ is of the opinion they were created by pilgrims, depicting the exact position of a pilgrim while praying. These carvings did not originate earlier than the fourth century B.C. when the rock temples at Petra were built. It is more likely, however, that most of them come from the period after 106 A.D. when Petra was occupied by Romans. A footprint representation in Mecca is considered by Muslims to be the feet of Abraham and called until today *Mawṭi' an-Nabi*. The stone with the footprints had originally been situated at the very entrance to the mosque al-Haram ash-Sharif and only later on, when the Prophet rid the mosque of all idols, the stone was moved twelve metres away.²⁹

The region with the greatest occurrence of foot and sandal print representations in the Mediterranean area is said to be Egypt. It is also the Egyptian part of Nubia that all Czechoslovak finds of rock drawings of foot and sandal prints come from. This is why the vintages from Egypt and Nubia are given a separate chapter. In northern Africa, for example, there is on the walls of the caves Tin Telket and Nan Assahor a very old, deep inscribed, and quite weathered representation of the human foot. Even today, this representation serves magico-religious purposes and the Tuaregs from Ajjer spread butter and goat milk on it.³⁰ Representations of foot and sandal prints also occur frequently in Tripoli³¹ and Roman Africa³², as well as in other parts of the Mediterranean area.

The representations of foot and sandal prints throughout the Mediterranean area were attributed the same meaning until the beginning of this century. They were regarded as symbols of pilgrimage by means of which pilgrims were said to thank gods after a long journey "pro itu et reditu". An ever increasing number of documents and especially a more careful study of the vintages under consideration challenged the old-fashioned view and demonstrated that there is no single, universal, all-explaining meaning but a number of them. As pointed out quite correctly by Castiglione³³ a long time ago, the genuine "pro itu et reditu" inscriptions are never accompanied by representations of foot and sandal prints made by priests themselves in their temples. With respect to the greatly differentiated meanings of the vintages in the Mediterranean area we find it most useful to give here an easy-to-survey list of those meanings, supplemented now and then with interesting individual interpretations:

1. The most widely accepted interpretation speaks of the endeavour of a pilgrim to signify his presence at a certain place, especially in a sanctuary, as well as in public baths, gymnasia, etc. By leaving behind a noticeable mark in the form of a foot or sandal print, the pilgrim assured his existence at the given place even during his absence.

2. There used to be regarded as typical pilgrim symbols two pairs of mutually inverted foot or sandal prints. Castiglione³⁴ disputes this theory, however, arguing that inverted foot or sandal prints have their origin in an old custom, well established in mythology, namely, that the best defence against evil is reversing the normal order of things. The Romans used to consider a motive pointing downward a symbol of destruction and death while that pointing upward a symbol of resurrection and life. Thus we can look at "inverted" foot and sandal prints essentially as symbolic expressions of an escape from death, disease, and evil. In cases in which one of the "inverted" pairs represents bare feet and another shod ones (even if they are sandals only) the implication may be nothing else but a way of expressing the ritual removal of shoes. This does not then signify only an act of paying homage but it may imply hygienic and magic meanings as well. "Inverted" footprints, particularly on the ground of sanctuaries, may also imply the exact position of a person during the act of praying

as well as the universality of the deity whom he worships. It is exactly by turning the tip of one pair of footprints downward and that of the other one upward, i. e. turning them mutually by 180 degrees, that the universality of both the deity and prayer is clearly demonstrated. Castiglione³⁵ views "inverted" footprints as typical for the western part of the Roman Empire because they are common in Italy, Hispania and Roman Africa (there are two rock drawings of "inverted" footprints also among the Czechoslovak finds from Nubia).

3. The footprints were and frequently still are regarded as a document of theophany, the manifestation of the deity at a certain place.³⁶ This view is mentioned already by Antic authors such as Herodotos, Lucian, Tacitus and others. We come upon a very similar idea also in other parts of the world — in Scandinavia, Western Europe, and India. Some authors view those vintages as symbols of pilgrimage which thus represent a secondary idea derived from the belief in theophany.

4. Another, almost universal meaning of footprints is an expression of victory and domination.

5. According to the opinion of several authors³⁷ representations of footprints and feet stand for symbols of healed legs (ex-votis of ears, eyes, breasts etc. are documented in the same meaning). The ex-votis of shod feet are sometimes viewed as a symbolic immortalization of the leg cured by means of orthopedic shoes. On a relief from Athens³⁸, for example, there is a man holding in his hands a colossal leg, or an ex-voto of a cured leg of his, which he brings to the curing deity. There is emphasized a vein on the leg, which was quite common for Greek plastic representations of legs; without the previous interpretation this vein would hardly be understandable. Similarly, Milithion of Thera, who suffered from elephantiasis, expressed her thanks to the curing deity by painting around the word describing her disease a gigantic picture of a leg before it was descended upon by divine power and cured.³⁹ Especially esteemed as curing deity were Isis and Serapis.

6. The leg was also considered a direct manifestation of Serapis. Not only a plastic representation of the leg but a simple depiction of the footprint as well has become an expression of epiphany of god who appears in person in difficult situations to assist the worshipper. The problems connected with Serapis' legs in Hellenistic Egypt were studied in a comprehensive manner by Castiglione.⁴⁰

7. Weinreich offers another reason for footprint representation.⁴¹ By setting foot on somebody, magical healing power was transferred to the diseased person; the foot played here a similar role as the hand. Baudouin⁴² draws our attention to the surviving customs and cults in southern France according to which a representation of a footprint heals affected legs (*similia similibus curantur*). A similar custom survives until today in Egypt, too. In Alexandria, in the north-western corner of the mosque of Sheikh Muhammad al-'Aṭṭar there is a serpentine block with a footprint representation which heals persons suffering from fever.⁴³ The afflicted person must squeeze a lemon on the stone and lick it in order to be cured. The stone still bears legible fragments of the Greek name Cleopatra.

8. A sole print belonging to a certain person is sometimes considered to be his "signature". It has already been mentioned in the introductory part of this study that Nubian nomads are usually able to identify not only the owner of a footprint in the sand but some of his intents as well. This is why the sole, the foot, or even the sandal are, as a symbol of ownership, a recurrent motif on rings and sealing sticks. For the same reason, a stylized footprint appears in the function of pottery mark accompanying the name of the workshop's owner.⁴⁴ A remarkable document concerning an ancient Egyptian pottery mark in the form of sandal, found at the necropolis of Deir

el-Medina, is presented by Bruyère.⁴⁵ In ancient Rome the above mentioned idea was probably connected with the wide-spread custom of driving nail-heads into the soles of sandals to form a name or pattern (see the discussion concerning our type III/5). As to its character, this category includes, for example, also a limestone ex-voto of the leg from Palestine dated to the second or third century A.D. whose sole bears the name ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΝ which, according to Bagatti, was to beseech a safe return home for its owner.⁴³

9. Foot or sandal print representation is common in Christian ikonography as well. We come upon it, for example, on clasps, lamps, and other items. It expresses the will of the apprentice to follow in the footsteps of the Master, if not directly in those of God.⁴⁷

10. Robert⁴⁸ indicates another meaning ensuing from the interpretation of the adjectives κακοποδινος and καλοποδινος in several Greek texts. According to this theory the footprint symbolically marks the man or god whose arrival at some place implies bringing good or evil.

As mentioned above, the period in which there occurred representations of foot and sandal prints in the Mediterranean area is delimited roughly by the flourishing of classical Greek and Roman civilizations and early Christianity. The oldest documents coming, for example, from Crete and Syros are dated to the seventh or sixth centuries B.C.⁴⁹ and the youngest ones to the Middle Ages.⁵⁰ The situation gets even more complicated by the fact that it is very unlikely that there was in the original Greek or Roman religion and mythology any idea documenting the inception of the custom of depicting human feet or sandals. In an attempt to seek the origin of that custom we have to focus also on the civilizations located both geographically and chronologically outside the radius of classical Greek and Roman civilizations.

If we continue further to the East we come upon another important area with occurrence of the vintages under survey, namely, *the Indian sub-continent and Ceylon*. Thus, for example, there is on Ceylon the famous Mount of Adam with a gigantic footprint representation called the "footprint of the sun".⁵¹ The footprint was later on encircled by a small pavillion. The first records about the footprint come from the fifth century A.D. and in the Middle Ages it was mentioned even by Chinese travellers. The footprint became the property of all kinds of religions existing in that part of the world: Pre-Buddhist authors considered it Vishna's foot connecting it with the myth of Vishna's three strides in the world; Buddhists regarded it as Buddha's foot, Muslims as Adam's footprint, and Christians as St. Thomas's footprint. We are informed about the representations of footprints in India mainly from the works of Charpentier and Wirz.⁵² It is characteristic of Buddhist art for many centuries after Buddha's death (536—438 B.C.) that it does not permit pictorial or plastic portrayals of his person.⁵³ Buddha's presence is insinuated by certain symbols such as two prints of his feet, his throne, etc. The prints of Buddha's feet are a direct ideographic transcription of the formula which was used in India for a respectful identification of a "person".⁵⁴ The fifth century B.C. is thus considered the earliest date of the occurrence of footprint representations in India even though the custom may have much older roots.

The fact that rock drawings of footprints are present even on the *American continent* is backed by the finds which the Czechoslovak ethnographer and Americanist dr. Šolc made recently (1968) in Chile. His is an unpublished set of rock drawings uncovered in the north-Chilean location of Cajon de Calabozo which includes a few dozen footprints. Typologically speaking, they are mostly of the natural type with clearly indicated fingers; less frequent are stylized outlines of feet and the same is true of the

soles of sandals. As to the techniques, we encounter only hammering — both hammered outline and en creux pictures. Rock drawings of footprints are situated mainly on horizontal rocks. As there is no necropolis, sanctuary, or settlement near the site of Cajon de Calabozo it is rather problematic to date and interpret the finds. Dr. Šolc dates the drawings preliminarily to the first half of this millenium.

REPRESENTATIONS OF FOOT AND SANDAL PRINTS IN EGYPT AND NUBIA

2

Egypt is one of the sites with most frequent finds of foot and sandal prints in the Mediterranean area. It is certainly not necessary to elaborate here on the reasons why we have to be well-acquainted with finds from Egypt in order to analyze the set of rock drawings of foot and sandal prints from Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia, while keeping in mind their types, meanings, and dates. The Egyptian finds do not, of course, form an independent, clean-cut group of finds but rather an integral part of the great Mediterranean circle. In the case of ancient Egyptian remains we encounter especially stone and clay ex-votis or carvings on the walls, pavements and ceilings (or tumbled blocks) of temples, on rocks and boulders. It is obvious that this situation offers a number of possibilities, particularly for a chronological pin-pointing of individual types as well as interpreting contingent differences in their meaning. This work can hardly give an exhaustive list of sites of those vintages on Egypt's territory because we come upon them (or, more exactly, can very likely find them) near all more important buildings and ancient places, around temples, tombs, statues, at desert crossroads, etc.⁵⁵ Many of them continue to be frequented by Moslem pilgrims who worship them, asking for help. The healing power of the serpentine block from the Alexandria mosque of Sheikh Muhammad el-'Atţar was mentioned in the preceding chapter. According to the name Cleopatra still legible next to the footprint, we can date this secondarily used vintage to the Late Greek Period. A very similar remain, this time made of black granite, is walled-up in the south-western corner of the copula of Ahmad al-Badawi's mosque at Tanta. Respect and attention of Moslem worshippers are drawn to the representations of "Prophet's footprints" in other parts of Egypt, for example, in the Cairo mosque of Athar an-Nabi or in Kai'tbay's and Qalamun's mosques.⁵⁶ In the last and this centuries, the well-known vintages began to be joined by others discovered in almost every greater excavation. There are a number of such vintages in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria.⁵⁷ An interesting Greek ex-voto of sandalled right foot comes from Memphis.⁵⁸ It was also in Memphis that Flinders Petrie⁵⁹ found in a burnt house B a limestone block with a footprint in sunk-relief. Coins coming from the same stratum helped date the block either to the Late Greek or Early Roman Period. Similar blocks with footprints in sunk-relief were discovered in the Temple of the Sphinx at Giza⁶⁰ and Saqqara⁶¹. During the research of a protohistoric necropolis at Abusir⁶², Bonnet came upon an oblong clay offering table with a carving of right-foot print on which there are indicated not only nails but conceivably also straps (?) of an open sandal (even though we cannot exclude their purpose being decorative). The edge of the offering table is decorated with the motive of "Fischgrät". Bonnet thinks (and so does Vandier d'Abbadie⁶³) that it is a dish coming from a later period (if we take into consideration the type of footprint, the decoration, and material we can date the object to the Roman Period) on which a foot

was placed and water poured over it. As the parallel he refers to the unique hieroglyph from Meidum⁶⁴ determining the word *m'*. This hieroglyph depicts a square basin for washing feet painted in red colour. As indicated by the name of the object itself, *m'*, it is "the place on which water is poured."⁶⁵ The translation "basin for washing feet" logically fits the list of fifteen objects representing furniture and toilet necessities of the deceased in the tomb. In this connection we cannot fail to mention the wooden basins discovered by Flinders Petrie in the tomb No. 136 at Tarkhan⁶⁶ and dated to SD 79, i. e. the beginning of Dyn. I.

Representations of footprints from the Roman Period have been found also at Fayyum⁶⁷, in the Mortuary Temple of Amenemhet III at Hawara el-Makta⁶⁸, and at Medinet Madi⁶⁹. Clear evidence of the custom of depicting foot and sandal prints near important buildings can be seen in the Tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel. Soon after Petosiris's death this tomb became a pilgrimage shrine as documented by numerous graffiti on its walls.⁷⁰ The carvings of foot and sandal prints discovered on the site of the tomb have been dated to the Roman Period.⁷¹ Another document of the above mentioned custom may also be the Mastaba of Ptahshepses at Abusir (the site of systematic research conducted by the Czechoslovak Institute of Egyptology), on the walls of which there are depicted stylized soles of sandals.

A numerous and — from the point of dating — important set of footprint representations comes from Abydos. In the Temple of Sethos I, including its ceilings, there are many carvings of foot and sandal prints.⁷² These vintages are sometimes accompanied by Greek names or sacred symbols of the goddess Isis — a situla and palm branch. Most of the carvings can be dated to the Roman Period, some of them even to the Late Greek Period. In another temple of Sethos I at Abydos (the so-called Osireion) on the undecorated part of a wall there was discovered a carving of a footprint with indicated toes and accompanied by a Carian inscription.⁷³ Both the inscription and footprint can be dated perhaps to the Saite Period.⁷⁴ A very similar type of footprint was found also on Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia. This one is, however, in clear superposition to another footprint dated relatively safely to the Roman Period so that we are likely to deal here with an accidental resemblance of types. Also the set of carvings of foot and sandal prints at Dendera, discovered and published by Castiglione⁷⁵, is dated quite safely to the Roman Period. Numerous representations of footprints were found by Flinders Petrie during the excavations of the Temple of Min at Koptos.⁷⁶ They are ex-votis of footprints carved into small limestone blocks, the most interesting of them being the one whose wall is shaped as a miniature staircase leading to the footprint carved on the top part of the block. It is no surprise that another voluminous set of foot and sandal prints is known from Thebes, the significance of whose temples in both the Greek and Roman Periods does not have to be mentioned here in greater detail.⁷⁷ The greatest published set of the vintages comes from the Temple at Medinet Habu.⁷⁸ It includes representations of all the three basic types under examination with a relatively wide spectrum of type variants. Many of them are attached to demotic inscriptions or are either in superposition to them or superimposed by them. It is true that the demotic inscriptions are published in facsimiles being, however, neither translated nor dated, which complicated a more exact dating of foot and sandal prints as well. On the basis of typological analysis we can date a portion of them to the Roman Period, some of them even to the Greek Period. Most of them come, however, from the area of the second court of the Temple of Ramses III, where there was built later on a Coptic church (Egyptian clergy performed in the temple quite evidently as late as the second century A.D.)⁷⁹. The importance of the finds from Medinet Habu is truly great from the point of view of the interpretation of most Egyptian represen-

tations of foot and sandal prints: the finds offer a key, even though it is far from being universal, enabling their understanding. In a preliminary report on the graffiti at Medinet Habu,⁷⁹ Edgerton published a facsimile of the text of a demotic graffito and its translation. On both the edges of the graffito there is a pair of stylized footprints or soles of sandals. The pair at the beginning of the inscription is depicted with toetips downward while the pair at the end with toetips upward. Edgerton translates the text in the following way "Libation of Petosiris, son of Thotsytmes. Libation of Thotsytmes, son of *P3-hwn*." The text inscribed additionally into the first pair of footprints reads "Remain here in the presence of Min." The inscription thus makes it clear that the temple at Medinet Habu was at that time considered the sanctuary of the God Min. Far more important, however, is the unambiguous conclusion which we have to make from the footprints and accompanying texts: it is the wish to assure permanent existence of the person concerned near the dwelling of the worshipped deity, this being done by means of a footprint symbolically materializing the presence of its author. Incidentally, this is an idea very well suiting the mentality of ancient Egyptians who indulged in erecting stelae or statues in the vicinity of their temples or engraved at least their names on some visible spot. In this way they also wanted to materialize their permanent presence near the god whom they worshipped and whose protection they sought.

Typologically close to the finds from Medinet Habu are the footprints discovered by Castiglione⁸⁰ at Ramesseum. North of Ramesseum, at Deir el-Bahri, Naville⁸¹ found several representations of soles of sandals or stylized footprints the importance of which is considered by some authors essential with regard to the lower time limit of the occurrence of those vintages in Egypt as a whole. On the pavement of the southern colonnade of a temple from Dyn. XI, there were discovered engravings of two stylized footprints, in one of them being a cursive hieroglyphic inscription "The Builder Ptaḥemḥeb". Ranke⁸² presents evidence concerning this name from Dyn. XI, the New Kingdom, and the Late Period; we assume that it is the Late Period from which the engraving is most likely to come. Slightly more complicated is the case of an engraving of a sandal on a fragment of the pavement of the lower colonnade in which there is inscribed in cursive hieroglyphs a text interpreted by Hall⁸³ either as "the porter 'Iw...?" or "the guardian Huia". The evidence concerning the occurrence of this name is given by Ranke⁸⁴ from the New Kingdom (yet the similarly written name *Hī* is dated not only to the New Kingdom but the Greek Period as well⁸⁵). The engraving of a footprint with the text is moreover superimposed by a short hammered-out inscription commencing "*wḥb, sš...?*". Any dating is difficult here. In spite of that it is improbable that the engraving of a footprint with the text comes from the end of the New Kingdom. It is more likely that it comes from the Late Period (see the following discussion on the engravings of footprints in the Temple of Karnak). The authors of the vintages from Deir el-Bahri were probably Egyptian priests who knew the Egyptian script and moved freely in temple tracts. A similar view is shared by Castiglione⁸⁶ who also points out that the carvings of stylized footprints or soles of sandals with inscribed texts were found in those parts of Egyptian temples into which laymen were not admitted. Another numerous group of engravings of foot and sandal prints comes from the Ptolemaic Temple at Deir el-Medina⁸⁷ which is considered the sanctuary of the Goddess Hathor. Spiegelberg's translation of a demotic graffito with a pair of footprints only confirms the interpretation of the vintages enabled by the graffito from Medinet Habu. Spiegelberg translates it as follows: "May the beautiful name of Psenchonsis, son of Teos, be enduring (in presence) of Hathor, the Great Goddess, the Lady of the West!" The footprints with inscription come from the end

of the Greek or the beginning of the Roman Period and so does the majority of other graffiti and carvings from that temple. Of course, engravings of foot and sandal prints are not only in the temples on the western bank of the river but in the sanctuaries of Thebes on the eastern bank as well. Chevrier⁸⁸, examining the Temple of Amon at Karnak, came upon numerous engravings of foot and sandal prints on blocks from the cornice of the first pylon which he dated to the Greek Period. The carvings of footprints supplement here in several cases Greek names.

Castiglione⁸⁹ discovered in the Great Temple of Amon at Karnak other engravings of foot and sandal prints. Other interesting finds are represented by carvings of sandal soles with inscribed Egyptian names discovered by Varille⁹⁰ on the ceiling of the Temple of Ma'et. One pair of footprints has no inscription and the other one has in both footprints a cursive hieroglyphic inscription. The left sandal sole bears the inscription "*it-ntr Mn-nh-p3.f-hrj*" and the right one "*s3 (n) hm-ntr Mn(tw), Nb...*". The name '*nh-p3.f-hrj*' is documented by Ranke to come from the Late and Greek Periods.⁹¹ The Temple of Ma'et comes from the New Kingdom and there are inscriptions of Amenhotep III which do not have to be decisive, of course, for dating the engravings of sandal soles with inscribed texts coming very likely from the Greek Period. Analogical carvings of sandal soles with inscribed hieroglyphic texts from the Temple of Khons are dated by Castiglione to Dyn. XXVI⁹² and we can in principle agree with that dating. Similar vintages from the Temple of Luxor are dated, however, to the end of the New Kingdom or to the Late Period.⁹³ Among them there are two pairs of sandal soles with a partially preserved text (the quality of photodocumentations is not good). In the sole of one pair we can read "*w^b n Hnsw...?*"; in the other pair there is in one sole the text: "*...it-ntr Mn^{tw}...*" and in the other sole "*... s3...?*" The lower time limit proposed by Castiglione, i. e. the end of the New Kingdom, does not seem quite exact. It is more likely that it should be dated to the Late Period.

West of Thebes, in the Kharga Oasis, several engravings of foot and sandal prints were discovered by Sauneron⁹⁴. The temple comes from the times of Antonius Pius and the engravings found there are, therefore, younger than the second century A.D. Fakhry⁹⁵ found in the Kharga Oasis an engraving of a footprint with a palm branch inside which comes most likely also from the Roman Period. In the area south of Thebes, in the Temple of Medamud⁹⁶, there is a site rich in carvings of foot and sandal prints frequently accompanied by Greek and demotic texts. The engravings come mostly from the Greek Period. Also the finds of vintages from Esna⁹⁷ are dated to the same period. The numerous engravings of foot and sandal prints discovered at Edfu⁹⁸ and Kom Ombo⁹⁹ come from the Greek and Roman Periods, too; in both cases the dating is facilitated by our knowledge of the times in which local temples were built.

A large, southernmost set of foot and sandal print representations in Egypt comes from the complex of temples on the island of Philae dedicated to the Goddess Isis.¹⁰⁰ In most cases we encounter a very characteristic shaping of footprints (with toes, nails and sole arch standing out quite clearly). Some of the engravings accompany demotic and Greek inscriptions which complement the meaning of those vintages basically contained in the inscriptions attached to the examples from Deir el-Medina and Medinet Habu. The inscription No. 445, for example, attached to a pair of footprints reads: "The feet of P (?) -bek, son of Tetow. He that shall erase the feet (?) of Bek, his name (?) (shall be cut out?)". Among those who carved the footprints and texts were especially priests of the Goddess Isis (for example No. 376 and others) from Philae. Some footprints even bear dates, such as the above mentioned engraving No. 376 which gives the year 125 and the engraving No. 377 referring to December 11, 452. Another inscription with a footprint¹⁰¹ comes from the Diocletian era, i. e. the

break of the third and fourth centuries, etc. The set of vintages from the island of Philae also has a considerable historical significance; it increases our knowledge about that southernmost and longest surviving island of Egyptian civilization on Egypt's territory the importance of which for religious life of the Nobadae and Blemmye was respected by Roman and Byzantine rulers as well.

A list of finds from Upper Egypt should not omit the rock drawings of foot and sandal prints from the areas of Hosh and Wadi Sab' er-Rigal.¹⁰² They are frequently accompanied by rock drawings of palm branches, gaming boards, vulvae, as well as Greek and Coptic inscriptions.

Since the connections between the historical development of Nubia and the rock drawings of foot and sandal prints will be dealt with in the final chapter let us for the time being restrict our discussion to stating that the frequency of occurrence of those vintages has continued with the same intensity even on Nubian territory. This concerns not only the area stretching as far as Takompso (Hierasycaminos), where the boundary between the Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Meroe later used to be, but they are south of there as well. We deal with quite an important aspect of the problems concerning rock drawings of foot and sandal prints from both Czechoslovak concessions. As a matter of fact, one of the concessions, that in the north, belonged to the above mentioned area with permanent Roman influence, while the other one was outside the influence. Let us for the time being stick to the scheme followed above and continue in listing selected finds of foot and sandal prints from Nubia. On blocks of the Temple of Dendur, built by Augustus, there were discovered secondary carvings of footprints with toes clearly indicated,¹⁰³ which are very important for dating the entire group of our finds of rock drawings of footprints. Several rock drawings of footprints with distinguished toes and a few stylized footprints were uncovered by an Italian expedition in Sabagura.¹⁰⁴ Another site of a remarkable type of sandal, equally important for dating one of our types, is Dakka.¹⁰⁵ It contains an oblong altar bearing a representation of a foot shod in a sandal as seen from above. The toes are indicated and the laced-up straps pass into a dense, decorative lattice. The demotic inscription on the side has not been translated but in spite of that this vintage can be very likely dated to the peak Roman Period.

Some authors considered¹⁰⁶ the finds in the Temple of Wadi es-Sebua an important proof for the establishment of the lower time-limit of the foot and sandal print representations in the entire Mediterranean area. On the floor of the first court there were found by Maspero¹⁰⁷ several engravings of foot and sandal prints, both single and in pairs. He thought he recognized in the depicted types of sandals those known to him from the reliefs coming from Dyn. XIX and XX. We can hardly agree with this dating even though we have no photodocumentation of the vintages at our disposal. According to Maspero's description, the types are most probably those common in the Greek through Christian Periods. The establishment of the upper time-limit (perhaps as late as the Christian Period) is supported here by the fact that in the Temple of Wadi es-Sebua there was built in the Christian Period a sanctuary of St. Peter (a similar situation exists at Medinet Habu, too). Even a greater misunderstanding than in the case of the finds at Wadi es-Sebua occurred in dating the rock drawings of footprints at Amada.¹⁰⁸ On a rock not far from the temple there are several pairs of footprints in sunk relief. As they are on a perpendicular rock and have an expressive dark patina, Dunbar, in his otherwise outstanding work on Nubian rock drawings, considered them predynastic! There are no sound reasons for such dating, which can be proved also by Czechoslovak finds in Nubia. The finds include a few rock drawings of foot and sandal prints on a perpendicular rock with dark patina even though they

belong quite evidently to the Graeco-Roman Period. This is undoubtedly the case with rock drawings of footprints found at Amada; this dating is supported also by the Roman and Coptic activity in the mentioned location, which is well-documented by numerous finds.¹⁰⁹ Further to the south, near Tomas, Leclant¹¹⁰ discovered a lime block on the top part of which there is a footprint in low relief. This is a common type of vintage from the Roman Period.

The largest set of foot and sandal prints coming from a single location in Nubia and published to date is Qasr Ibrim.¹¹¹ The large number of engravings discovered there is in conspicuous contrast to the negligible variability of types, which is undoubtedly a proof of the short time-span during which they were made. In addition, the dating is facilitated by the fact that all finds come from a terrace attached to the central part of the fort and analogical with the terraces at Kalabsha and Medamud; that's why it was dated to the times of Augustus and Tiberius. In those times, the Romans under Petronius's leadership took over also Qasr Ibrim for a short period of time and it is thus very likely that it was Petronius's soldiers who were authors of the engravings of foot and sandal prints. The set is, therefore, relatively exactly dated to the time around the year 22 B.C.

During the Polish excavations at Faras¹¹² a tile was found with a carving of a footprint featuring indicated toes and an arched sole. There is another engraving above the mentioned one representing either a stylized footprint or sandal sole and remnants of two other engravings of footprints. With regard to the location of the find, the footprint was dated to the Second Christian Period, i. e. the seventh to tenth centuries A.D.! We cannot exclude with certainty, however, that the carving comes from the Late Meroitic Period, even though its type resembles more the representations of footprints known from Egypt in the fifth century A.D. The dating to the Second Christian Period, which we consider probable, would thus represent the upper time limit of the finds of foot and sandal prints in Nubia as a whole. A typologically varied set of rock drawings of foot and sandal prints was discovered near Wadi Halfa by a joint Scandinavian expedition.¹¹³ Except for their type variants, no evaluation of those drawings has been published so far. Among them there are numerous pairs of stylized footprints *en creux* regarded erroneously as *vulvae* (sic!).

A unique rock drawing of a life-size footprint with indicated toes coming from Gebel Sheikh Suliman was published by Needler.¹¹⁴ She considers it relatively recent in comparison with other rock drawings from the same place. At Abka, also near Wadi Halfa, Myres¹¹⁵ discovered several stylized rock drawings of foot and sandal prints which are located in the middle of a group of tribal marks and are relatively recent, too. Peterson made, from the formal point of view, a very interesting discovery at Sesebi.¹¹⁶ It is a genuine imprint of child's footprint in a piece of clay which was later baked. Even though the object was found in a store room of Dyn. XVIII we can hardly date it to that time. It is very likely to come from the Meroitic Period. Of similar importance (not shape) are votive sandstone blocks with footprints discovered during research works at the Temple of Kawa.¹¹⁷ Several of them were found there, mostly on the floor in front of the sphinx in the Temple coming from the Meroitic Period. The last single find which we would like to mention in this brief list, comes from the area of the Sixth Cataract. It is mentioned by Chittick¹¹⁸ in the article about the last Christian fort in the Sudan. In the eastern border area of Gebel Iran there is a smooth rock wall with numerous rock drawings of animals, especially camels, and boats. A pair of sandals, dated by Chittick to the Islamic Period, was found among those engravings. This dating is inaccurate. Not only their shape but a different technique as well signify that they belong to a different period than the other drawings.

The pair of sandals is engraved while the other rock drawings are hammered out. As to the typology, it reminds us of the sandal representations documented in Egypt from the Late Roman Period.

In the course of time this brief list will undoubtedly be supplemented with other sets of finds assembled by individual expeditions which have been systematically investigating Nubia within the framework of the UNESCO campaign to save the monuments of Nubia. Some of them are already at our disposal such as the discoveries on the Spanish concession¹¹⁹ (while the finds on the Scandinavian concession¹²⁰ have not yet been evaluated; the Hungarian finds from Qasr Ibrim have been published by Castiglione¹²¹). Another extensive set of materials contains rock drawings discovered by the Czechoslovak expedition on two concessions: the Northern Czechoslovak concession covers an area on both banks of the Nile, about 50 kilometres long, and stretching from the southernmost border of the village Nag^c el-Birba at the mouth of the Khor Kalabsha to the northern border of the Temple of Gerf Hussein (on the left bank); the Southern concession comprises also an area on both the banks of the Nile, about 50 kilometres long, stretching from the eastern periphery of the village Nag^c el-Döm el-Dakar to the northern border of the village Nag^c el-Bir on the left bank and from the village Nag^c el-Qurud to the northern border of the village Nag^c Abū Shanak on the right bank. Among other things, the Czechoslovak expedition also discovered on both concessions a considerable number of rock drawings of foot and sandal prints. It should be noted at this juncture that the set of finds of foot and sandal prints is really extensive both from the point of view of quantity and variability of types as well as their field location. This sometimes facilitates the discovery and comprehension of other relations pertaining to other rock drawings. The following chapters attempt to provide an introduction to the problems involved.

TYPE I

I/1



Outline of a human footprint with toes indicated inside. Comparative material pertaining to this type is relatively plentiful, being chronologically delimited by the Greek and Roman Periods.¹²²

I/2



Variant of type I/1 in which toes are separated from the instep by a transverse line. Comparative material relating to this type is also plentiful, being chronologically delimited by the Greek, Roman¹²³ and perhaps even Christian Periods.¹²⁴

I/3



Variant of type I/1 with "open" toes, i. e. toes which are indicated without the line outlining the foot being closed at the outer edge of toes.¹²⁵

I/4



Outline of a human footprint with toes indicated by five cuts outside the outline. In some cases it is not easy to determine whether we deal with a human footprint or print of an animal paw.¹²⁶

I/5



Outline of a human footprint inside which there is indicated only the big toe. An analogical document is known, for example, from Medinet Habu, which is supplemented with a Coptic cross and below the footprint and the cross there is a demotic inscription.¹²⁷

Identification from the Catalogue:

I/1 — Cat. Nos.: 1, 59, 193, 206, 250, 266, 270, 275

I/2 — Cat. Nos.: 1, 5, 71, 193, 206, 249, 266, 268, 269, 270, 275, 434, 584, 853

I/3 — Cat. No.: 853

I/4 — Cat. Nos.: 53, 59, 249, 267, 268, 488, 492, 853

I/5 — Cat. No.: 398

TYPE II

II/1



Simplified outline of a human footprint or sandal sole with a clearly indicated narrowing of the heel. Comparative material pertaining to this type is relatively plentiful and chronologically delimited by the Greek through Christian Periods, even though some items with inscribed Egyptian texts (see the text in the preceding chapter) may come from the Late Period.¹²⁸

II/2



Variant of type II/1 in which the outline is left open at the tiptoe of the footprint or the tip of the sandal sole and ends in the form of a thorn which resembles the riser used in the casting mould.

II/3



Simplified outline of a human footprint or sandal sole in sunk relief or en creux.

II/4



Simplified outline of a human footprint or sandal sole with indicated narrowing of the heel.¹²⁹

II/5



Unfinished or damaged outline of a human footprint or sandal sole.

Identification from the Catalogue:

II/1 — Cat. Nos.: 1, 32, 37, 52, 53, 58, 59, 60, 61, 65, 71, 162, 249, 266,

407, 452, 480, 492, 494, 495, 496, 502, 503, 518, 572, 576, 612, 621, 669, 671, 721, 728, 732, 733, 734, 736, 778, 788, 882

II/2 — Cat. No.: 732

II/3 — Cat. Nos.: 249, 844, 848

II/4 — Cat. Nos.: 1, 34, 37, 54, 52, 59, 61, 63, 71, 268, 518, 547, 565, 718, 722, 730, 778, 787, 813, 863

II/5 — Cat. Nos.: 34, 37, 61, 249, 502, 568, 718

TYPE III

III/1



Outline of a human foot in a sandal viewed from above. Sometimes toes and even nails are indicated. The remaining part of the outline is filled with grating which is sometimes decoratively dense and which originated most likely from a former marking of sandal straps. The shoes depicted in this way were probably army sandals called *caliga*, i. e. Roman shoes with a system of straps mutually intertwined.¹³⁰ Comparative material related to this type is rather scarce¹³¹ and it seems to come mainly from the Roman Period. This chronological classification can be supported also by the way toes and nails are indicated, i. e. the way quite common in later Roman engravings of human footprints coming from Philae.¹³²

III/2



Outline of a human foot in a sandal viewed from above; it either has a strap clasping the instep (?) or shows an unstrapped sandal (?). Comparative material pertaining to this type is rare, coming mostly from the Greek and more frequently the Roman Period.¹³³

III/3



Variant of type III/2 with untied straps which are fastened on the sides of a sandal.

III/4



Outline of a sandal sole imprint with a strap tied crosswise over the sole and the instep to achieve a close fitting of the sandal to the foot. A key to understanding this type may be seen, for example, in the clay vessel coming from Stassfurt in Saxon (Lusatian culture) which has the form of a human foot in a sandal and tied in the above mentioned manner.¹³⁴ It cannot be excluded, however, that we encounter here a stylized representation of a sandal with bronze sole connected in the middle by a hinge without which the sole could not, of course, bend. Shoes with bronze soles began to be worn in Greece and Rome from the second century B.C. onwards.¹³⁵ It is also possible that in some cases it merely indicated the heel.¹³⁶ Comparative material regarding this type is relatively plentiful and comes from the Greek and Roman Periods.¹³⁷

III/5



Outline of a sandal sole imprint with a negative pattern. Of this type were especially sandals of Roman soldiers called *caliga* the soles of which were densely covered with nails. There were eighty to one hundred nails on one sole being sometimes arranged into patterns which made imprints on soft surface. At other times, the nails were arranged

to make a name, etc.¹³⁸ Comparative material related to this type is not numerous and is delimited by the Greek and Roman Periods.¹³⁹

III/6



Outline of a sandal sole imprint with two straps fastened on the sides and running backward. This type resembles stylized representations of formerly Greek shoes called by the Romans *crepida*. It is an open shoe the soles of which have straps, or strap eyelets, fastened on the sides and running backward. Other straps were drawn through the eyelets when the shoe was being strapped.¹⁴⁰ Comparative material pertaining to this type is relatively plentiful and comes especially from the Greek and Roman Periods.¹⁴¹

III/7



Outline of a sandal sole imprint with two straps fastened on the sides and pointing forward. The dating is essentially identical with that of type III/6.¹⁴²

III/8



Outline of a sandal sole imprint with two straps fastened vertically to the main axis of the sole. The dating is identical with that of type III/6.

III/9



Variant of the preceding type with another strap fastened to the tip of the

sandal sole. The dating is the same as in type III/6.

III/10



Outline of a sandal sole imprint with two pairs of straps fastened on the sides and another one on the tip of the sole. The dating is the same as in type III/6.

III/11



Outline of a sandal sole imprint with two straps fastened to the tip of the sole. This type resembles the stylized representation of Roman shoes called *calceus*. It is a high boot made of soft leather and fitted on the sides in the front part of the sole.¹⁴³ Comparative material is not numerous and the dating is identical with that of type III/6.

III/12



Outline of a sandal sole imprint with two spurs in the leather making an inseparable part of the sole. Similar sandals coming from the Coptic Period have been preserved¹⁴⁴; we know them also from the much earlier representations originating in ancient Egypt.¹⁴⁵ The shoes of the lower strata of the Roman society, which were called *carbatina*,¹⁴⁶ looked similar, though. Also the finds of this type made by Czechoslovak expeditions are likely to date to the Roman Period.

III/13



Outline of a sandal sole with two straps fastened on the sides and running for-

ward. It cannot be excluded that in some cases we encounter here a simplified variant of type III/12. Comparative material pertaining to this type is relatively plentiful being chronologically delimited by the Roman Period.¹⁴⁷

III/14



Outline of a sandal viewed from above. Two straps are fastened with one end at the tip of the sole and with the other on its sides. This type resembles the stylized representations of light open shoes fastened to the feet simply by one or two straps and called by the Romans *baxae*.¹⁴⁸

Identification from the Catalogue:

- III/1 — Cat. Nos.: 71, 188, 193, 268, 269, 276
- III/2 — Cat. Nos.: 5, 276
- III/3 — Cat. No.: 493
- III/4 — Cat. Nos.: 1, 31, 61, 65, 71, 249, 492, 495, 737, 790, 882
- III/5 — Cat. No.: 499
- III/6 — Cat. Nos.: 137, 239, 437, 485, 509, 566, 621, 733, 734, 789, 838, 861, 492
- III/7 — Cat. Nos.: 34, 37, 477, 567, 733, 747, 788, 872
- III/8 — Cat. Nos.: 478, 791
- III/9 — Cat. No.: 98
- III/10 — Cat. Nos.: 37, 43, 44, 45, 47, 454
- III/11 — Cat. No.: 735
- III/12 — Cat. No.: 789
- III/13 — Cat. Nos.: 46, 431, 518, 721, 724, 734
- III/14 — Cat. No.: 496

Percentual Quantification of the Types:

- Type I: 22.7 per cent
- Type II: 50.0 per cent
- Type III: 27.3 per cent

TYPE I

The most common are rock drawings of footprints incised in deep or broad-and-deep line. They are followed by footprints hammered in deep line, incised in shallow line, and hammered in shallow line. With one exception only (Cat. No. 853) all the rock drawings are either incised or hammered on a horizontal rock. As far as we can determine, the drawings of footprints of the right foot quite clearly predominate. The length of the footprint of this type ranges between 14 and 25 centimetres. One half of the rock drawings is located on the left bank of the Nile (Nag' el-Köm Khör Nasr ed-Din, Nag' Abū Tarfa, Nag' el-Khulūs, Nag' Farag Allāh and Nag' esh-Shīma) and the other half on the right bank (Nag' Wādī Siyāl el-Qiblī, Nag' Khör Rahma el-Qiblī and Korosko East Station).

A statistical evaluation of the rock drawings of footprints of this type from the point of their technique, their situation on the rock, as well as their general location shows that they form a unified set of finds, namely, Nag' Abū Tarfa — Nag' el-Khulūs — Nag' Farag Allāh — Nag' esh-Shīma. The chronological classification of this set of finds can be supported also by the fact that across the river, in front of Nag' Abū Tarfa and in the mouth of the Khör Yasal there is the cemetery C 62 from the Greek and Roman Periods and that at Nag' Farag Allāh there is the cemetery C 70 from the Nubian Christian

Period.¹⁴⁹ The rough classification of the above mentioned set of finds into the Greek, Roman and Christian Periods agrees with the conclusions of an analysis of superpositions and types.

TYPE II

The most common are rock drawings of foot or stylized sandal prints incised in deep or shallow line. Slightly less frequent are rock drawings of footprints, or stylized sandals, hammered in deep or shallow line. Those *en creux* and in sunk relief are very rare. Contrary to type I, not all rock drawings of type II are on horizontal rock even though the latter is more frequent than the oblique and even the vertical. As far as it was possible to ascertain (and in some cases it was not) the rock drawings of the right foot are a bit more common than those of the left one. The length of the rock drawings of footprints (or sandal soles) of this type ranges between 9.5 to 28 centimetres, being mostly around 20 centimetres. An absolute majority of finds of this type comes from the right bank of the Nile, from the locations Nag' Khör Rahma el-Qiblī and Korosko East Station.

On the basis of a statistical evaluation of the rock drawings of this type from the point of view of their technique, situation on the rock, and location we may suggest that a unified set of finds is being formed in the location of Nag' Khör Rahma el-Qiblī even though the situation on the whole points more to

a broader chronological range with a probable focus in the Roman Period. The dating of this type can also be supported perhaps by the fact that 2.75 kilometres south of Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī there is, near Nag' el-Aqabatein, a small cemetery No. 60 from the Greek and Roman Periods. A similar cemetery from the same period, C 62, is situated on the right bank of the Nile at the mouth of the Khōr Yasal, opposite Nag' Abū Tarfa.¹⁵⁰ In 1964 the Czechoslovak expedition discovered north of the sites of rock drawings at Nag' el-Fariq two rock tombs with remains of sarcophagi coming from the Roman Period.¹⁵¹

TYPE III

The following tables clearly show that the prevailing rock drawings are those incised in deep line and hammered in deep line. Less frequent are those incised in shallow line and hammered in shallow line. En creux is very rare. Contrary to type I not all the rock drawings of sandals of type III are on horizontal rock even though the latter clearly predominates; there are several finds that come from an oblique rock.

As far as we can ascertain there is roughly the same number of rock drawings of left and right sandals. The length of rock drawings of sandals ranges between 9.3 and 33.5 centimetres, mostly around 25 centimetres. An absolute majority of the finds comes from the right bank of the Nile, namely, from the sites of Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī and Korosko East Station.

A statistical evaluation of the rock drawings of sandals from the point of view of their technique, situation on rock, and location indicates that a unified set of finds is being formed on the site Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī. On the whole, however, the situation points more likely to a broader chronological range with a probable focus in the Roman Period. Even the dating of this type can be facilitated by the fact that 2.75 kilometres south of Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī there is, near Nag' el-Aqabatein, the small cemetery C 60 coming from the Greek and Roman Periods. North of Nag' esh-Shīma, at Nag' Farag Allāh, there is the cemetery C 70 from the Nubian Christian Period.¹⁵² Even an analysis of superpositions and types agrees with this rough dating.

TYPE I

Catalogue No.	Deep Ham- mered Line	Shallow Ham- mered Line	Deep Incised Line	Shallow Incised Line	En-croix	Sunk Relief	Vertical Rock	Oblique Rock	Horizontal Rock	Number of Rock Drawings	Location
1		+							+	10	Nag' el-Kôm Khôr Nasr ed-Dîn
5	+								+	1	Nag' Wādī Siyāl el-Qiblī
58	+								+	1	Nag' Khôr Rahma el-Qiblī
59	+								+	4	Nag' Khôr Rahma el-Qiblī
71			+						+	8	Nag' Abū Tarfa
193			+						+	3	Nag' el-Khulūs
206	+								+	1	Nag' el-Khulūs
206			+						+	1	Nag' el-Khulūs
249	+								+	4	Nag' Farag Allāh
249			+						+	5	Nag' Farag Allāh
250	+								+	2	Nag' Farag Allāh
266			+						+	2	Nag' esh-Shīma
266				+					+	4	Nag' esh-Shīma
267				+					+	1	Nag' esh-Shīma
268			+						+	2	Nag' esh-Shīma
269			+						+	1	Nag' esh-Shīma
270			+						+	1	Nag' esh-Shīma
270				+					+	2	Nag' esh-Shīma
275			+						+	3	Nag' esh-Shīma
398			+						+	1	Korosko East Station
434			+						+	1	Korosko East Station
488			+						+	1	Korosko East Station
492	+								+	1	Korosko East Station
584			+						+	2	Korosko East Station
853	+						+			6	Korosko East Station

TYPE II

Catalogue No.	Deep Hammered Line	Shallow Hammered Line	Deep Incised Line	Shallow Incised Line	En-croix	Sunk Relief	Vertical Rock	Oblique Rock	Horizontal Rock	Number of Rock Drawings	Location
1		+							+	4	Nag' el-Kōm Khōr Nasr ed-Dīn
32	+								+	1	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī
34	+								+	2	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī
37	+								+	12	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī
45	+								+	2	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī
52		+							+	3	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī
53	+								+	1	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī
58	+								+	1	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī
60	+								+	2	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī
61	+								+	14	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī
63	+								+	9	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī
65	+								+	6	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī
71			+		+				+	1	Nag' Abū Tarfa
71			+						+	8	Nag' Abū Tarfa
162		+					+			1	Nag' el- Fariq
249					+				+	1	Nag' Farag Allāh
249			+						+	3	Nag' Farag Allāh
249	+								+	5	Nag' Farag Allāh
266			+						+	1	Nag' esh-Shīma
268			+						+	3	Nag' esh-Shīma
407			+						+	1	Korosko East Station
432			+						+	1	Korosko East Station
452	+							+		3	Korosko East Station
480				+					+	2	Korosko East Station

Catalogue No.	Deep Hammered Line	Shallow Hammered Line	Deep Incised Line	Shallow Incised Line	En-croix	Sunk Relief	Vertical Rock	Oblique Rock	Horizontal Rock	Number of Rock Drawings	Location
492				+					+	3	Korosko East Station
494				+					+	1	Korosko East Station
495				+					+	4	Korosko East Station
496				+					+	4	Korosko East Station
502		+							+	2	Korosko East Station
503				+					+	1	Korosko East Station
518			+					+		1	Korosko East Station
547	+								+	1	Korosko East Station
565				+				+		1	Korosko East Station
568			+					+		3	Korosko East Station
572	+						+			1	Korosko East Station
576				+				+		1	Korosko East Station
612			+						+	1	Korosko East Station
621			+					+		1	Korosko East Station
669				+				+		2	Korosko East Station
671			+						+	2	Korosko East Station
718	+								+	3	Korosko East Station
718			+						+	3	Korosko East Station
721			+					+		1	Korosko East Station
722		+						+		1	Korosko East Station
728			+						+	1	Korosko East Station

Catalogue No.	Deep Hammered Line	Shallow Hammered Line	Deep Incised Line	Shallow Incised Line	En-croix	Sunk Relief	Vertical Rock	Oblique Rock	Horizontal Rock	Number of Rock Drawings	Location
730			+						+	2	Korosko East Station
732			+					+		2	Korosko East Station
733			+						+	1	Korosko East Station
734			+					+		3	Korosko East Station
736			+					+		1	Korosko East Station
756				+					+	1	Korosko East Station
778				+					+	2	Korosko East Station
787		+							+	1	Korosko East Station
788			+						+	1	Korosko East Station
813		+					+			1	Korosko East Station
844						+				2	Korosko East Station
848						+		+		2	Korosko East Station
863	+								+	1	Korosko East Station
882	+								+	1	Korosko East Station
882			+						+	1	Korosko East Station
TYPE III											
1		+							+	2	Nag' el-Kôm Khôr Nasr ed-Dîn
5			+						+	3	Nag' Wādī Siyāl el-Qiblī
31	+								+	1	Nag' Khôr Rahma el-Qiblī
34		+							+	2	Nag' Khôr Rahma el-Qiblī
37	+								+	2	Nag' Khôr Rahma el-Qiblī
43		+							+	1	Nag' Khôr Rahma el-Qiblī

Catalogue No.	Deep Ham- mered Line	Shallow Ham- mered Line	Deep Incised Line	Shallow Incised Line	En-creux	Sunk Relief	Vertical Rock	Oblique Rock	Horizontal Rock	Number of Rock Drawings	Location
44	+								+	1	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī
45	+								+	5	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī
46	+								+	2	Nag' Khor Rahma el-Qiblī
47	+								+	1	Nag' Khor Rahma el-Qiblī
61	+								+	3	Nag' Khor Rahma el-Qiblī
65	+								+	1	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī
71			+						+	2	Nag' Abū Tarfa
98				+					+	1	Nag' Marsāb
137	+								+	1	Nag' es-Singāb
188			+						+	1	Nag' Birbet Dandūr
193	+								+	1	Nag' el-Khulūs
239	+								+	1	Nag' el-Ghāzī
249			+						+	4	Nag' Farag Allāh
268			+						+	1	Nag' esh-Shīma
269			+						+	7	Nag' esh-Shīma
276			+						+	2	Nag' esh-Shīma
431			+						+	1	Korosko East Station
437				+					+	1	Korosko East Station
454			+						+	1	Korosko East Station
477	+								+	1	Korosko East Station
477				+					+	1	Korosko East Station
478			+						+	1	Korosko East Station
485			+						+	1	Korosko East Station
492				+					+	1	Korosko East Station
492	+								+	2	Korosko East Station

Catalogue No.	Deep Hammered Line	Shallow Hammered Line	Deep Incised Line	Shallow Incised Line	En-croix	Sunk Relief	Vertical Rock	Oblique Rock	Horizontal Rock	Number of Rock Drawings	Location
493			+						+	1	Korosko East Station
495				+					+	2	Korosko East Station
496		+							+	2	Korosko East Station
499		+							+	1	Korosko East Station
509			+						+	1	Korosko East Station
566			+					+		1	Korosko East Station
567			+					+		1	Korosko East Station
621			+					+		1	Korosko East Station
721			+					+		3	Korosko East Station
724			+						+	1	Korosko East Station
733			+						+	3	Kdrosko East Station
734			+					+		2	Korosko East Station
735			+						+	1	Korosko East Station
737				+					+	1	Korosko East Station
747			+						+	1	Korosko East Station
788			+						+	1	Korosko East Station
789			+					+		2	Korosko East Station
790				+					+	1	Korosko East Station
791	+								+	1	Korosko East Station
838			+						+	2	Korosko East Station
861			+					+		1	Korosko East Station
872	+							+		1	Korosko East Station
882				+					+	1	Korosko East Station

Cat. No. 1: The sandal of type III/4 is superimposed on the footprint of type I/1. Another footprint, this time of type II/1, is superimposed on that of type I/2 and the sandal of type III/4. The three rock drawings of sandals, executed in ■ technique different from the other finds and located more or less on the outside of the main group of finds, seem to be younger than the other rock drawings of footprints (especially types I/1 and I/2). Close to the group of finds of *Cat. No. 1* there are several inscriptions dated by Žába to the Roman Period.¹⁵³

Cat. No. 5: The rock drawing of a sandal of type III/2, above which there is the inscription ΔΟΥΚΑ, is dated by the very inscription to the Graeco-Roman Period.¹⁵⁴ A very similar type of sandal was found at Edfu and comes also from the same period.¹⁵⁵

Cat. No. 71: The sandal of type III/4 and the footprint of type I/1 (unfinished type III/4?) are superimposed on another sandal of type III/1. The sandal of type III/4 in this group is younger than that of type III/1.

Cat. No. 193: The rock drawing of a footprint of type I/1 is younger than that of type I/2. The sandal of type III/1 is executed in the same technique and has the same kind of patina as the rock drawings of altars and the inscription in its immediate vicinity. The inscription was dated by Žába to the Roman Period (143-4 A.D.).¹⁵⁶ Among the rock drawings of this site we come upon

■ very similar type of footprint represented by the engraving of a footprint from Abydos and dated to the sixth or seventh century B.C.¹⁵⁷ by means of a Carian inscription related to it. The rock drawing mentioned above can, however, hardly be dated to that period and we assume merely a coincidental similarity in shape.

Cat. No. 206: The rock drawing of a footprint of type I/2 is superimposed on a hammered footprint of type I/3. The engraving of type I/2 comes from the same period (the same technique, patina, and arrangement on rock) as that of the Coptic cross. In this group of rock drawings, the incised footprint of type I is thus younger than the hammered one of the same type.

Cat. No. 249: The pairs of footprints of type I/2 are younger than the other footprints. The footprint of type I/2 is superimposed on that of type II/1. The incised footprints of type I/2 are superimposed on two hammered footprints of the same type. The en creux footprint of type II/3 is even younger than the incised one of type I/2 (the en creux of the footprint is in fact additional; the footprint was originally paired with the incised one of type I/2). The finds comprised under this single catalogue number are, in fact, from two groups of drawings: one includes predominantly footprints of type I with a few footprints of type II while the second group is formed mostly by sandals of type III/4 with a few footprints of type II.

In the latter group of rock drawings we encounter an interesting example of "inverted sandals" (cf. with another example under Cat. No. 734 in which we come upon "inverted footprints"),¹⁵⁸ which are dated together with other three rock drawings of footprints from this small group to the Roman Period.¹⁵⁹ It thus follows from the superpositions among the rock drawings of this catalogue number that the footprints of type I/2 are younger than those of type II/1 and that the hammered type I/2 is older than the incised one I/2.

Cat. No. 270: The footprint with indicated toes (type I/1) was very likely supplemented with a heel of square shape.

Cat. No. 669: The rock drawing of a footprint of type II/1 was probably later supplemented with an incised cross. Similarly, another footprint belonging formerly to type II/1 is likely to have been later changed by supplementing it with straps so that it fits type III/6.

Cat. No. 724: The rock drawing of a sandal of type III/13 exhibits an additional modification of the heel over which there was incised a part of perhaps another sandal which remained unfinished, however, due to the unsuitable surface of the rock. In the semi-circle around the tip of the sandal there are incised counting strokes (10?) which are either from the same period or somewhat younger. Their incision was to multiply the number of sandals to match that of the strokes (?).

Cat. No. 729: The rock drawing of a pair of sandals of type III/13 was spatially adjusted to the footprint of type II/1 which is thus older.

Cat. No. 732: The rock drawings of footprints of type II/1 form conceivably one pair (the same type, technique, patina, and size). One of the footprints of type II/1 is superimposed on the sandal of type III/13. On the other hand, the sandal, this time of type III/4,

is superimposed on the already mentioned footprint of type II/1. In this group of rock drawings is thus type III/4 younger than type II/1 and both of them are younger than type III/13.

Cat. No. 733: The rock drawing of a sandal of type III/8 is superimposed on the footprint of type II/1. The footprint of type II/1 is superimposed on the sandal of type III/6. The footprint of type II/1 is of the same date as another sandal which also belongs to type III/6 but is this time slightly different from that mentioned above. This group of rock drawings thus gives us an opportunity to chronologically differentiate within type III/6.

Cat. No. 734: We encounter here another document relating to "inverted footprints" (cf.: Cat. No. 249 in which we come upon "inverted sandals", however).

Cat. No. 748: The rock drawings of a sandal of type III/13 and an incomplete sandal of the same type were later altered by a deep incision to represent vulvae. Close to the sandals there are engraved on the rock two groups of counting strokes (16 and 11 — cf. Cat. No. 724). These rock drawings include also a group of little hollows arranged to form something like a footprint (?).

Cat. No. 872: We encounter here a remarkable example of a solitary rock drawing of a sandal of type III/7 within which there is another rock drawing of a stylized figure of a naked man with his arms freely hanging along his body. In both the cases we deal with engravings whose technique and patina are identical. In spite of that we may assume that the sandal had been carved sooner than the figure of the man. As a matter of fact, the man's head practically overlaps the tip of the sandal even though the head was later changed not to go beyond the border-line of the sandal. In the end the problem was solved by enlarging the entire tip of the sandal. It is therefore difficult to

determine whether both the engravings were made simultaneously by the same person or whether the engraving of the sandal was used only secondarily. Even though we deal here with the only engraving of its kind on Czechoslovak concessions, the motif of a sandal (or footprint) with a man's figure in it is far from being unique in Nubia and we come across it even outside Egyptian territory.¹⁶⁰ On the Spanish concession¹⁶¹ there was found a similar engraving. Contrary to our engraving, however, the Spanish find consists of a footprint and also the type of man's figure is somewhat different. In addition to that, the footprint seems to have been carved only later on the already existing engraving of a naked man. We are acquainted with another group of engravings with a similar theme found on the Spanish concession¹⁶²: an engraving of a sandal is superimposed on a much larger stylized figure of a naked man with an accentuated penis. The sandal overlaps especially the trunk of the man. Finally, it would be useful to mention here another group of rock drawings from the Spanish concession the themes of which are very close to the topic described above. We have in mind particularly an engraving of a gazelle chased by a pack of dogs which is superimposed on that of a footprint.¹⁶³ It is obvious that the hunting scene was laid out on the rock in such a way as to fit the gazelle into the simplified hammered footprint which had already been there. (It is also difficult to determine if the rock drawing of the footprint was really regarded as a footprint or as a stylized pen or trap.) In any case, the entire scene has a magic meaning. Another group of rock drawings comes from the concession of the German Democratic Republic (unpublished so far but made kindly available to the author by dr. G. Buschendorf-Otto). Between two sandals there is a representation of the standing figure of

a naked man. In this case the man is not "imprisoned" in a sandal or footprint but between two sandals. The final meaning is undoubtedly the same, though. A number of documents related to the occurrence of this motif in Pharaonic Egypt could be provided to supplement the few examples from Nubia described above. We know well, for example, Tut'ankhamun's sandals¹⁶⁴ which depict on the upper side of the sole a couple of Egypt's professed enemies, an Asian and a Negro, turned with their backs to one another and their hands tied up.¹⁶⁵ Apart from picture representations the motif is documented even in ancient Egyptian texts. To place one's sandal or footprint (*tbwt* means both footprint and sandal) on something or someone signifies victory, subjection, ownership.¹⁶⁶ The engraving in Cat. No. 872 is thus an interesting supplement to the number of documents pertaining to the survival of the formerly Egyptian motif on the territory of Nubia until the Romano-Meroitic period from which the engraving mentioned above most likely comes. The "imprisoned" enemy is not, however, the only motif which we may encounter on sandal soles. At Akhmin Panopolis, for example, there was discovered an incomplete leather sole on which there is depicted a chalice with a plant and a snake.¹⁶⁷ In this case we are likely to deal with health shoes dedicated to the God Aesculapius. The sandal comes from the Later Greek or Roman Period.

Cat. No. 882: Two rock drawings of footprints of type II/1 are superimposed on a sandal of type III/4. The drawings of the footprints and the sandal are very close to the stela No. 63 coming from the Middle Kingdom.¹⁶⁸ We seem to encounter here "commemorative visitor's footprints" left near the ancient Egyptian remain but coming from a much later period than the stela.

In concluding our analysis of the

superpositions of rock drawings of foot and sandal prints on Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia we can summarize our findings in the following way:

(\rightarrow = is superimposed on)

type II/1 \rightarrow type I/2 and type III/4

type III/4 \rightarrow type III/1

type I/1 \rightarrow type I/2

type I/2 (incised) \rightarrow type I/1 (hammered out)

type I/2 (hammered out) \rightarrow type I/2 (incised) and type I/2 \rightarrow type II/1

type II/1 \rightarrow type III/13

type III/4 \rightarrow type II/1 \rightarrow type III/13

type III/8 \rightarrow type II/1 \rightarrow type III/6

type II/1 \rightarrow type III/4

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND EVALUATION

6

We have not yet tried to answer the essential question concerning the origin of the custom of depicting foot and sandal prints. The latest attempt at solving this problem is not sufficiently persuasive. It is the suggestion of Castiglione¹⁶⁹ to consider Egypt the Mediterranean cradle of the custom. While formulating his hypothesis, Castiglione proceeded indoubtedly from the fact that Egypt was an area with a majority of documented representations of foot and sandal prints in the entire eastern Mediterranean zone and that local vintages belonged among the oldest of their kind in the zone. This hypothesis stems, however, from several inaccurate interpretations and considerations. In the first place, it is an incorrect setting of the lower time limit from which the question of priority should logically follow as quite obvious. We cannot accept especially Castiglione's use of Dunbar's dating of the rock drawings of footprints from Amada¹⁷⁰ to the Predynastic Period. Our stand has been supported by every recent discovery of this kind of vintages in both Nubia and Egypt. Similarly problematic is the endeavour to consider the end of the New Kingdom as the beginning of the custom of depicting foot and sandal prints in Egypt. We have tried to demonstrate on concrete examples from Egypt and Nubia that the lowest acceptable time limit for those vintages is the Late Period; in most cases it is, however, only the

Greek Period. Another reason against calling Egypt the Mediterranean cradle of foot and sandal print representations lies in religious and magical restraints stemming from the principles and regulations of ancient Egyptian religion and cult. It is almost impossible to imagine that — prior to the Late Period in which foreign currents of thought began to spread throughout Egypt — an ancient Egyptian would choose a footprint representation as a materialized symbol of his existence near God's dwelling, worshipping him in that way and at the same time giving himself up under his continuous protection. There existed in ancient Egypt a ritual of "removing footprints" *Int rd*¹⁷¹ which represented the final phase of a temple service.¹⁷² The interpretation of the term *Int rd* as well as the entire ritual of "removing footprints" is not quite satisfactory; it is Altenmüller¹⁷³ who has lately dealt more consistently with the problem, but even his conclusions are not free from unanswered questions. On the basis of our knowledge of the ancient Egyptian cult we are aware of the fact that for hygienic and magical reasons the clergy used to take off their shoes prior to confronting God, having washed themselves in a sacred lake; when leaving the sanctuary they used to sweep behind themselves even non-existent footprints of their feet on stone pavement. And as the authors of the oldest representations of foot and sandal prints are very likely to have been none

other than the clergy, the above mentioned hypothesis strikes us as even less logical. It thus seems probable that the custom of depicting footprints did not originate in Egypt but came to the country after it had opened wide to foreign stimuli and currents of thought as a result of a specific historical development. And this happened in the Late Period. On the other hand, the custom of expressing by means of a footprint one's permanent presence near God (we do not imply here a universal meaning of footprint representations in Egypt but only a most common one) undoubtedly found in Egypt of that time a fertile ground. This was so especially due to the fact that the custom suited the traditional aspiration of every Egyptian, namely, that a form of his individuality remain even in the future. The thousands of ancient Egyptian graffiti containing sometimes nothing but proper names and found on rocks and ancient buildings throughout Egypt and Nubia are certainly not without purpose, because one's name, *rn*, is a symbol of man's existence on earth and this trace does not vanish until the name of a person falls into oblivion.¹⁷⁴ Not everybody was, however, capable of writing his name. This certainly disagreed with the great wave of democratisation of the ancient Egyptian religion and conceptions of the beyond, with the adoption of formerly royal prerogatives by common people. The democratisation began to take place and make itself felt as soon as the end of the Old Kingdom, being accompanied by another great wave of prosperity in the Late and Graeco-Roman Periods. The custom of depicting foot and sandal prints within the above mentioned context is very likely to have become widespread in the democratisation trend. Perhaps even in the sphere of art there existed a basis to follow up with the custom, though it be in a different sense.

Egypt thus does not essentially seem to have been the cradle of the custom of depicting foot and sandal prints in the Mediterranean region in spite of the fact that the custom became really wide spread there. The material under survey provides evidence which inclines us to assume that the impulse for its spread came to Egypt from outside during the Late and especially the Greek and Roman Periods. It also seems that the impulse probably did not come from the interior of the African continent. The situation in other zones of the Mediterranean region is not, of course, so clear and lucid as we might conclude from the lines above. If we start from the point of view that an important indicator of the spread of the custom of depicting foot and sandal prints in the Mediterranean region is the principle of chronology, then we discover that apart from ancient Egyptian amulets in the shape of a leg coming from the Old Kingdom, the oldest pediform clay ex-votis were discovered at Petsofa on Crete; they come from the Middle Minoan Period I—II, i. e. from the beginning of the second millennium B.C.¹⁷⁶ There are, however, no important documents concerning a specific cult of the human foot or sole, neither in Cretan nor Greek or Roman religions. Representations of the kind on Crete, namely, engravings of foot and sandal prints, are documented for the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.¹⁷⁷ This is, of course, too big a gap to be satisfactorily explained in the hypothesis on the succession of Cretan documents. The interesting discovery made in the locality of Kizildag in Asia Minor¹⁷⁸ has already been referred to at the beginning of this book. Rock drawings of six pairs of footprints were found near the so-called rock throne with an engraving representing a sitting man and a Hittite inscription dated to the twelfth or eleventh century B.C. The documentation is rather poor but there seem to be stylized outlines

of human footprints or sandal soles. Other details concerning the find are not available and we cannot therefore exclude that the rock drawings belong to the same time as the Hittite inscription. They can, of course, come from a much younger period, e. g. the Graeco-Roman. No matter what the Kizildag find actually represents, there exists a similar gap here as in the finds from Crete. And this gap can hardly be bridged by any hypothesis. To complete our thoughts on this matter let us not forget the Assyrian conception according to which the leg is the symbol of God Ishum sometimes called "Long Leg".¹⁷⁹ But even in this case we face a unique religious conception which is without any demonstrable connection with the representations of foot and sandal prints in the Near Eastern region. Thus the tendency of considering any Mediterranean country the cradle of the custom to depict foot and sandal prints does not seem to be justifiable. Generally, it is virtually impossible there could exist a primary centre from which the custom of depicting foot and sandal prints would spread to other places in the world and which would bring mutual relation to such vintages as engravings from the Neolithic and the Bronze Ages coming from northern Europe, Upper Palaeolithic cave paintings from France, Buddhist symbols from India, or Latin American engravings from the beginning of this millennium, i. e. vintages differing in both meaning and date of origin. We are essentially of the opinion that representations of foot and sandal prints appear at various places of the world in most cases quite independently of one another. Their gradually differing meaning reflects the process of development of the magico-religious conceptions of various groups of human society. This general statement does not, of course, exclude the possibility of mutual influence among individual centres. Thus,

for example, it cannot be excluded that it was the Mediterranean region in which the rapid development — not the origin of the custom of depicting foot and sandal prints in the second half of the first millennium B.C. — may have resulted in increased contacts between the Greek world and India.¹⁸⁰ A similar opinion was once shared even by Castiglione¹⁸¹ who in the meantime changed his position, however, in favour of the primary centre in Egypt. The lower time limit would not have to be necessarily set only by the beginning of the spread of Buddhism, i. e. the break of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., because in India the custom of depicting footprints may have followed up the older pre-Buddhist religious and artistic tradition.¹⁸²

In conclusion we should like to comment on several facts of a more general character which follow from an analysis of the set of rock drawings of foot and sandal prints on Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia. No relation of the rock drawings of foot and sandal prints on Czechoslovak concessions to the preceding development of magico-religious conceptions of local inhabitants has been ascertained. The custom of depicting foot and sandal prints in Nubia as well as Egypt should be considered an alien implantation of ideas. The basic meaning of the majority of these vintages from Egypt — i. e. the effort to remain in the vicinity of the worshipped deity by seeking its protection — is in Nubia, as it seems from available material, shifted to a slightly different level and is, last but not least, differentiated. We have already noted in the statistical evaluation that all finds of foot and sandal prints on Czechoslovak concessions are, owing to the large size of the area under review (100 kilometres long), concentrated on a few small locations. Nag' Khôr Rahma el-Qibli and Korosko East Station are by all means the places with the greatest occurrence of the rock

drawings. Korosko has been an important crossroad since ancient times as it was from there that a desert road led into the Sudan. The rock drawings of foot and sandal prints found in the few localities of Czechoslovak concessions mentioned above can, however, hardly be interpreted on the basis of their most widely used meaning in Egypt. There are neither sanctuaries nor other important objects. No single or group find of rock drawings of foot and sandal prints on Czechoslovak concessions has been proved to have an importance for orientation in the landscape. It is certain that there exists no universal interpretation of the vintages. If we start from the concrete situation, the most acceptable interpretation of the meaning of a number of rock drawings of foot and sandal prints on Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia is the so-called "pilgrim's" interpretation which is, however, in other parts of the world quite rightly rejected as global. It is likely to be linked with another meaning of the foot and the sandal, i. e. with expressing the individuality of a person and its existence on the given spot. The vintages mentioned above were left on the spots of temporary rest or stay undoubtedly by people who passed through Nubia on a variety of missions; they may have been members of expeditions (see, for example, the group of foot and sandal prints from the site Nag' el-Kōm Khōr Nasr ed-Dīn, Cat. No. 1, all of them coming probably from the same time and being conceivably related to some of the inscriptions from the Roman Period found nearby), soldiers or individual travellers passing through that area, merchants, local nomads, etc. Sporadically we also come upon rock drawings with a different meaning such as the engraving of the sandal inside which a naked man is portrayed (Cat. No. 872). The engraving has a magico-warlike character even though we are no longer able to explain

immediate impulses for its creation. Similarly unappreciable is perhaps also the occurrence of rock drawings of footprints which are the manifestation of Sarapis, or those which represent ex-votis of healed feet and legs. Two examples of a pair of "inverted" foot and sandal prints may supplement the basic meaning of those vintages on Czechoslovak concessions with the supposed religious and symbolic manifestation of a victory over evil and hardship. Finally, several rock drawings of footprints (e. g. Cat. No. 206) are very likely to have Christian character, being symbolic expressions of the decision to follow in the footsteps of the Master or even God himself.

There is nothing to indicate that the chronology of the rock drawings of foot and sandal prints on Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia would cross the limits of the Greek through Christian Periods. An exact dating of individual types and their variants cannot yet be made even though there exist specific situations in which we can attempt a relatively exact guess at the date of origin. Therefore, we have to make a general statement that all three basic types run through the Greek, Roman and Christian Periods. If we were to attempt at least an approximate quantitative distribution of the finds in the periods mentioned above we would probably conclude that most of them come from the Roman Period. As to the chronology of the rock drawings of foot and sandal prints on Czechoslovak concessions we should not omit several important historical circumstances. One of them is, for example, the fact Lower Nubia was in the New Kingdom a tanning centre of Egypt. We learn this from the studies by Kelly-Simpson¹⁸³ and Gardiner¹⁸⁴ on the meaning of the title *ḫw-nšw*. Kelly-Simpson describes the find of a rock drawing from Gebel Agg¹⁸⁵ which represents a man offering a pair of sandals. It is clear from both the text and the

rock drawing itself, however, that the sandals are in no meaningful or chronological connection with the rock drawings of foot and sandal prints in Nubia. As a matter of fact, the active trade and cultural contacts between Egypt and Lower Nubia that existed during the New Kingdom decreased in the Napatan Period that followed even though it is assumed that several Greek traders penetrated deep into the south as early as the Psammetichus times.¹⁸⁶ The first big groups of Greeks and Carians got to Nubia, however, only during the reign of Psammetichus II, i. e. at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. as documented by seven Greek inscriptions at Abu Simbel left behind by Greek soldiers marching southward together with Egyptians.¹⁸⁷ The oldest Nubian rock drawings of foot and sandal prints can thus theoretically come from the beginning of the sixth

century B.C. but practically from the Greek Period only, i. e. the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third century B.C. Let us add at this point that Takompso (Hierasykaminos) dividing Lower Nubia into Dodekaschoenus and Triakontaschoenus¹⁸⁸ became in the Roman Period, into which we date most rock drawings of foot and sandal prints on Czechoslovak concessions, the southern border of the Roman Empire in that part of Africa. It is therefore interesting to note that as to the frequency of occurrence and variability in types of the representations of foot and sandal prints there has been ascertained no meaningful difference between both the parts of Lower Nubia. This is confirmed, among other things, also by Czechoslovak discoveries which are on the whole quite equally distributed between the northern and southern Czechoslovak concessions.

- ¹ GUNKEL, CSCHARNAK, *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. II: s. v. Fußspur.
- ² CASTIGLIONE, *Inverted Footprints*, p. 130.
- ³ WINKLER, *Rock-Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*. II, p. 13.
- ⁴ Ancient Egyptian amulets in the shape of a leg coming from Dyn. V and VI are referred to by Flinders Petrie who is of the opinion that they were to supply a person with the power to walk. See PETRIE, *Amulets*, p. 11, pl. I, 15.
- ⁵ GAERTE, *Altgermanisches Brauchtum auf nordischen Steinbildern*, pp. 55—62.
- ⁶ ALMGREN, *Nordische Felszeichnungen als religiöse Urkunden*, pp. 229—237.
- ⁷ ALTHIN, *Studien zu den BZ Felszeichnungen von Skåne*; ALMGREN, *Nordische Felszeichnungen als religiöse Urkunden*; Baltzer, *Rochers à glyphes du Bohuslän*; FILIP, *Enzyklopädisches Handbuch zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Europas*. I: s. v. Felszeichnungen; HALLSTRÖM, *Monumental Art Of Northern Sweden*; NORDÉN, *Östgötlands bronsålder*; a. o.
- ⁸ SAVVATEEV, *Zalavruga*. (For the numerous references to rock drawings in the U.S.S.R. see op. cit., pp. 429—442.)
- ⁹ UCKO, ROSENFELD, *Palaeolithic Cave Art*, pp. 105—106, 176—178, 225—226 and 249.
- ¹⁰ BAUDOUIN, *Le rocher aux pieds de Nanteau-sur-Essone*, pp. 181—196; id., *Les pieds humains sculptés de la Pierre-le-Mulot à Bleurville*, pp. 159—178.
- ¹¹ GAERTE, *Das Schuhsohlen-, Rand- und Kreuzsymbole auf den schwedischen Felszeichnungen*, p. 273.
- ¹² SEGER, *Der Stein mit den Fußstapfen des Heiligen Adalbert im Dom zu Breslau*, pp. 48—52.
- ¹³ KAMAL, *Dessins des pieds*, pp. 92—98.
- ¹⁴ BAUDOUIN, *Le rocher aux pieds de Nanteau-sur-Essone*, p. 106.
- ¹⁵ SCHULTEN, *Die Tyrsener in Spanien*, pp. 73—102; OUTES, *Sobre algunos objetos de piedra de forma insolita procedentes da Patagonia*; a. o.
- ¹⁶ GUARDUCCI, *Le impronte del Quo Vadis e monumenti affini, figurati e epigrafici*; MANGANARO, *Ricerche di epigrafia siceliota*; id., *Nuove dediche con impronte di piedi alle divinità Egizie*; DEONNA, *Le pied divin en Grèce et à Rome*; a. o.
- ¹⁷ CASTIGLIONE, *Inverted Footprints*, p. 122.
- ¹⁸ GUARDUCCI, *Le impronte del Quo Vadis e monumenti affini, figurati e epigrafici*, p. 308; IHM, *Die Aretanischen Töpfereien*.
- ¹⁹ GUARDUCCI, op. cit., p. 343.
- ²⁰ op. cit., p. 330.
- ²¹ CONZE, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos*, p. 33.
- ²² CASTIGLIONE, *Inverted Footprints*, p. 121.
- ²³ An interesting thing about the Gymnasium of Cyzicus are the representations of footprints with names of freshmen. See ROBERT, *Études anatoliens*, p. 201, pl. XIII, 3.
- ²⁴ HEBERDAY, KALINKA, I. Bericht über zwei Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien, nos. 52—55.
- ²⁵ GÜTTERBOCK, *Alte und neue hethitische Denkmaeler*, pp. 59—70.
- ²⁶ ROUSE, *Greek Votive Offerings*, pp. 212—214. For the Scythian cult of Heracles's foot in the area of the river of Tyros, i. e. the Dniestr, see HERODOTUS IV, 82.
- ²⁷ MYRES, *Excavations at Palaikastro*, pp. 356—387.

- ²⁸ DALMAN, *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer*, pp. 96, 190 and fig. 112; id., *Neue Petra-Forschungen und der Heilige Felsen von Jerusalem*, p. 26.
- ²⁹ KAMAL, *Dessins des pieds*, pp. 92—98.
- ³⁰ LAJOUX, *Wunder der Tassili n'Ajjer*, p. 14.
- ³¹ For example, the footprints at Gebel Nefusa are ascribed to Sheikh Abu Uthman and those at Djad to Abu Leith. See KAMAL, *Dessins des pieds*, p. 94.
- ³² CASTIGLIONE, *Inverted Footprints*, pp. 126—127.
- ³³ op. cit., p. 128.
- ³⁴ op. cit.; id., *Inverted Footprints Again*.
- ³⁵ op. cit., p. 188.
- ³⁶ DEONNA, *Le pied divin en Grèce et à Rome*, pp. 241—254.
- ³⁷ CONZE, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos*, p. 33; MANGANARO, *Nuove dediche con impronte di piedi alle divinità Egizie*, pp. 291—293.
- ³⁸ REINACH, *Recueil de reliefs*. II, p. 365, 2.
- ³⁹ ROUSE, *Greek Votive Offerings*, pp. 212—214.
- ⁴⁰ Castiglione, *Zur Frage der Sarapis-Füsse*.
- ⁴¹ WEINREICH, *ΘΕΟΙ ΕΠΗΚΟΟΙ*, p. 36.
- ⁴² BAUDOUIN, *Les pieds humains sculptés de la Pierre-le-Mulot à Bleurville*, p. 190.
- ⁴³ KAMAL, *Dessins des pieds*, pp. 95—96.
- ⁴⁴ IHM, *Die Aretanischen Töpfereien*, p. 108; DRAGENDORFF, *Terra Sigillata*, p. 46; a. o.
- ⁴⁵ BRUYÈRE, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1934—1935)*, p. 171, fig. 94.
- ⁴⁶ BAGATTI, *Un inedito piede votivo di Palestina*, pp. 112—113, pl. VIII.
- ⁴⁷ DEONNA, *Le pied divin en Grèce et à Rome*, pp. 241—254; DETHIER, *MORDTMANN, Epigraphik von Byzantion und Konstantinopolis*, p. 73f.
- ⁴⁸ ROBERT, *Recherches épigraphiques*, pp. 359—361.
- ⁴⁹ CASTIGLIONE, *Vestigia*, p. 98.
- ⁵⁰ GUARDUCCI, *Le importe del Quo Vadis e monumenti affini, figurati e epigrafici*, p. 343.
- ⁵¹ HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. I: s. v. Foot; ALMGREN, *Nordische Felszeichnungen als religiöse Urkunden*, p. 232.
- ⁵² CHARPENTIER, *Heilige Fußabdrücke in Indien*; WIRZE, *Buddhas Füße und Fußabdrücke*.
- ⁵³ HAVELL, *The Idols of Indian Art*, p. 18f.; GRÜNWEDEL, *WALDSCHMIDT, Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, p. 59; a. o.
- ⁵⁴ FOUCHER, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art and Other Essays in Indian and Central-Asian Archaeology*, p. 5.
- ⁵⁵ YOYOTTE, *Les pèlerinages dans l'Égypte ancienne*, p. 59.
- ⁵⁶ KAMAL, *Dessins des pieds*, pp. 92—98.
- ⁵⁷ BRECCIA, *Inscrizioni greche e latine*, p. 74, pl. XXXI, no. 120.
- ⁵⁸ EDGAR, *Greek moulds*, no 32142, pl. XIII.
- ⁵⁹ PETRIE, *Meydum and Memphis*, p. 45, pl. XL, 33.
- ⁶⁰ VYSE, *Appendix to Operations Carried on at the Pyramids of Gizeh in 1877*. III, p. 109, pl. 1, 4.
- ⁶¹ CASTIGLIONE, *Tables votives à empreintes de pied dans les temples d'Égypte*, p. 246.
- ⁶² BONNET, *Ein frühgeschichtliches Gräberfeld bei Abusir*, p. 51, pl. 35, 3.
- ⁶³ This view is shared by VANDIER D'ABBADIE, *Deux ostraca figurés*, pp. 27—28, fig. 7.
- ⁶⁴ PETRIE, *Meidum*, pl. 13; JAMES, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.*, no. 1277, pl. II.
- ⁶⁵ Wb II, 46.
- ⁶⁶ PETRIE, WAINWRIGHT, GARDINER, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, p. 9, pl. XII, nos. 10 and 11.
- ⁶⁷ CASTIGLIONE, *Tables votives à empreintes de pied dans les temples d'Égypte*, p. 244, fig. 9.
- ⁶⁸ KAMAL, *Tables d'offrandes*, p. 149, pl. LIV, no 23217.
- ⁶⁹ *Mostra delle antichità rinvenute nelle campagne d'Egitto condotte dalla Missione della R. Università di Milano 1934—37*, pl. 21.
- ⁷⁰ LÉFEBVRE, *Le tombeau de Petosiris*, pp. 21—29.
- ⁷¹ GABRA, PERDRIZET, *Rapport sur les fouilles d'Hermopolis Ouest*, p. 52.

- ⁷² CAULFIELD, The Temple of the Kings at Abydos, p. 11; PERDRIZET, LEFEBVRE, Les graffiti grecs au Memnonion d'Abydos, pp. 117—118.
- ⁷³ MURRAY, The Osireion at Abydos, p. 10.
- ⁷⁴ DRIOTON, VANDIER, L'Égypte, pp. 575—594.
- ⁷⁵ Castiglione, Vestigia, p. 103.
- ⁷⁶ PETRIE, Koptos, p. 24, pl. XXI, 19.
- ⁷⁷ EDGERTON, Medinet Habu Graffiti; id., Preliminary Report on the Ancient Graffiti at Medinet Habu.
⁷⁸ op. cit., p. 118f.
- ⁷⁹ op. cit., pp. 118—119, fig. 3, graffito no. 11.
- ⁸⁰ CASTIGLIONE, Vestigia, p. 108, fig. 11.
- ⁸¹ NAVILLE, The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari. I, pp. 25—26 and III, p. 24, pl. XVI, 5.
- ⁸² RANKE, Die ägyptischen Personennamen. I, p. 140, 2.
- ⁸³ NAVILLE, The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari. III p. 24, pl. XVI, 5.
- ⁸⁴ RANKE, Die ägyptischen Personennamen. I, p. 233, 27.
- ⁸⁵ op. cit., p. 233, 18.
- ⁸⁶ CASTIGLIONE, Vestigia, p. 112.
- ⁸⁷ SPIEGELBERG, Demotica II, p. 24.
- ⁸⁸ CHEVRIER, Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1938—1939), p. 556.
- ⁸⁹ CASTIGLIONE, Vestigia, p. 105.
- ⁹⁰ VARILLE, Karnak. I, pl. LXII, A, B.
- ⁹¹ RANKE, Die ägyptischen Personennamen. I, p. 63, 18.
- ⁹² CASTIGLIONE, Vestigia, p. 105, fig. 8, pl. VI, 4.
- ⁹³ op. cit., pp. 106—107, figs. 9—10, pls. VII, 3, 4 and VIII, 1, 2, 3.
- ⁹⁴ SAUNERON, Les temples gréco-romains de l'oasis de Khargéh, pp. 23—31.
- ⁹⁵ FAKHRY, The Rock Inscriptions of Gabal el-Teir at Kharga Oasis, pp. 401—434.
- ⁹⁶ COTTEVILLE-GIRAUDET, Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1930).
- ⁹⁷ SAUNERON, Esna. I, pp. 167—168.
- ⁹⁸ CASTIGLIONE, Vestigia, p. 112.
- ⁹⁹ BADAWI, Kom Ombo, pp. 42—44.
- ¹⁰⁰ GRIFFITH, Meroitic Inscriptions. II, pls. XXXI—XXXIV; id., Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus, nos. 376, 377, 439, 440, 444, 445, a. o.
- ¹⁰¹ Bibl. égyptol. VIII, pp. 273—279.
- ¹⁰² WINKLER, Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt. I, pp. 5, 8, 9, 13, 14 and II, pl. IX.
- ¹⁰³ BLACKMAN, The Temple of Dendûr, pl. XCVIII.
- ¹⁰⁴ ROVERI, I graffiti rupestri, fig. 5, nos. 70, 71, 72.
- ¹⁰⁵ CASTIGLIONE, Tables votives à empreintes de pied dans les temples d'Égypte, p. 242, fig. 15.
- ¹⁰⁶ GUARDUCCI, Le impronte del Quo Vadis e monumenti affini, figurati e epigrafici, p. 310.
- ¹⁰⁷ MASPERO, Notes de voyage, p. 161.
- ¹⁰⁸ DUNBAR, The Rock-Pictures of Lower Nubia, p. 7.
- ¹⁰⁹ STOCK, Excavations at Amada, p. 102.
- ¹¹⁰ LECLANT, Rapport préliminaire sur la mission de l'Université de Strasbourg à Tomàs (1961), pl. VII, 13.
- ¹¹¹ CASTIGLIONE, Vestigia, pp. 117—118, fig. 19, pls. XVI—XXI.
- ¹¹² MICHAŁOWSKI, Faras (1961), p. 163, fig. 103.
- ¹¹³ HELLSTRÖM, LANGBALLE, The Rock Drawings. 1 : 2, Aa.
- ¹¹⁴ NEEDLER, A Rock-Drawing on Gebel Sheikh Suliman (near Wadi Halfa) showing a Scorpion and Human Figures, p. 88, pls. I, II.
- ¹¹⁵ MYRES, Abka Re-excavated, pl. XXXIX.
- ¹¹⁶ PETERSON, Archäologische Funde aus Sesebi (Sudla) im Nord-Sudan, pp. 3—15, MM 19455.
- ¹¹⁷ MACADAM, The Temples of Kawa. II, pp. 56 and 71, nos. 0755, 0489—90.
- ¹¹⁸ CHITTICK, The Last Christian Stronghold in the Sudan, p. 268, fig. 8.
- ¹¹⁹ ALMAGRO BASCH, ALMAGRO GORBEA, Estudios de arte rupestre Nubio. I.
- ¹²⁰ HELLSTRÖM, LANGBALLE, The Rock Drawings. 1 : 1. 1 : 2.
- ¹²¹ CASTIGLIONE, Vestigia.
- ¹²² BLACKMAN, The Temple of Dendûr, pl. XCVIII; EDGERTON, Medinet Habu Graffiti, no. 151; CHEVRIER, Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1938—1939), p. 556

- CASTIGLIONE, *Vestigia*, p. 113, pl. XIV, 6 and pp. 117—118, fig. 19; WINKLER, *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*. II, pl. IX, 2; a. o.
- ¹²³ CHEVRIER, *Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1938—1939)*, p. 556; CASTIGLIONE, *Vestigia*, fig. 19 and pp. 109—111, figs. 12—14.
- ¹²⁴ Cf. e. g. our Cat. No. 206 in the discussion on superpositions and the relative and absolute ways of dating.
- ¹²⁵ NEEDLER, *A Rock-Drawing on Gebel Sheikh Suliman (near Wadi Halfa) showing a Scorpion and Human Figures*, p. 88, pls. I, II.
- ¹²⁶ ROVERI, *I graffiti rupestri*, fig. 5, no. 72.
- ¹²⁷ EDGERTON, *Medinet Habu Graffiti*, pl. 35, sine no.
- ¹²⁸ CHEVRIER, *Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1938—1939)*, p. 556; CASTIGLIONE, *Vestigia*, pp. 109—111, pl. XI, 2, 4; EDGERTON, *Preliminary Report on the Ancient Graffiti at Medinet Habu*, p. 118f.; WINKLER, *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*. II, pl. XIV, 2; NAVILLE, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*. I, pp. 24—25, pl. XVI, 5; ROVERI, *I graffiti rupestri*, fig. 5, no. 70; HELLSTRÖM, LANGBALLE, *The Rock Drawings*. 1 : 2, Aa 8; a. o.
- ¹²⁹ EDGERTON, *Medinet Habu Graffiti*, nos 137, 153, a. o.; WINKLER, *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*. II, pl. XIV, 2; ALMAGRO BASCH, ALMAGRO GORBEA, *Estudios de arte rupestre Nubio*. I, N. K. 72, fig. 74; MYRES, *Abka Re-excavated*, pl. XXXIX.
- ¹³⁰ DAREMBERG, SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*: s. v. Caliga.
- ¹³¹ EDGERTON, *Medinet Habu Graffiti*, no. 155; CASTIGLIONE, *Tables votives à empreintes de pied dans les temples d'Égypte*, p. 242, fig. 15; id., *Vestigia*, p. 113, fig. 15; a. o.
- ¹³² GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus*, nos. 376, 377, a. o.; COTTEVIEILLE-GIRAUDET, *Médamoud II*, pl. XXIV, no. 133.
- ¹³³ CASTIGLIONE, *Vestigia*, p. 112, pl. XIII, 2.
- ¹³⁴ ALMGREN, *Nordische Felszeichnungen als religiöse Urkunden*, pp. 230—231, fig. 133a, b.
- ¹³⁵ DAREMBERG, SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*: s. v. Solea.
- ¹³⁶ See e. g. EDGERTON, *Medinet Habu Graffiti*, no. 151.
- ¹³⁷ op. cit., no 122; CASTIGLIONE, *Vestigia*, pp. 109—111, figs 11—14; MYRES, *Abka Re-excavated*, pl. XXXIX; CHITTICK, *The Last Christian Stronghold in the Sudan*, p. 268, fig. 8.
- ¹³⁸ DAREMBERG, SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*: s. v. Caliga.
- ¹³⁹ ALMAGRO BASCH, ALMAGRO GORBEA, *Estudios de arte rupestre Nubio*. I, N. K. 59; WINKLER, *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*. II, pl. XLIII, 2; a. o.
- ¹⁴⁰ DAREMBERG, SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*: s. v. Crepida.
- ¹⁴¹ ALMAGRO BASCH, ALMAGRO GORBEA, *Estudios de arte rupestre Nubio*. I, K. K. 13, fig. 164; HELLSTRÖM, LANGBALLE, *The Rock Drawings*. 1 : 2, Aa 27.
- ¹⁴² WINKLER, *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*. II, pl. XV, 1.
- ¹⁴³ DAREMBERG, SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*: s. v. Calceus.
- ¹⁴⁴ STRZYGOWSKI, *Koptische Kunst*, no. 7255.
- ¹⁴⁵ JUNKER, *Weta und Lederkunsthandwerk im Alten Reich*; WOLF, *Die Kunst Aegyptens*, p. 274, fig. 227; a. o.
- ¹⁴⁶ DAREMBERG, SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*: s. v. Carbatina.
- ¹⁴⁷ ALMAGRO BASCH, ALMAGRO GORBEA, *Estudios de arte rupestre Nubio*. I, N. K. 26, fig. 28; HELLSTRÖM, LANGBALLE, *The Rock Drawings*. 1 : 2, Aa 29; WINKLER, *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*. II, pl. XIV, pl. XIV, 2; a. o.
- ¹⁴⁸ DAREMBERG, SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*: s. v. Baxae.
- ¹⁴⁹ TRIGGER, *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia*, pp. 198—199.
- ¹⁵⁰ loc. cit.
- ¹⁵¹ Yet unpublished material — see ŽÁBA, *Pozn. blok*, 1964/25.
- ¹⁵² TRIGGER, *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia*, pp. 198—199.

- 153 ŽÁBA, Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia (manuscript), nos. 234—242. The inscription no. 234 is dated to the Roman Period, nos. 235—240 to the same period and so are probably nos. 241—242.
- 154 op. cit., no. 207.
- 155 CASTIGLIONE, Vestigia, pl. XIII, 2.
- 156 ŽÁBA, Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia (manuscript), no. 189.
- 157 MURRAY, the Osireion at Abydos, p. 10; CASTIGLIONE, Vestigia, p. 102.
- 158 CASTIGLIONE, Inverted Footprints; id., Inverted Footprints Again.
- 159 op. cit., p. 188.
- 160 GUARDUCCI, Le impronte del Quo Vadis e monumenti affini, figurati e epigrafici, p. 330.
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- 162 op. cit., K. Z. 22, fig. 123.
- 163 op. cit., N. K. 71, fig. 73.
- 164 PIANKOFF, RAMBOVA, The Shrines of Tut-ankh-Amon, fig. 61.
- 165 For the motive of Egypt's enemies depicted on sandal soles, including the "sandals" of mummies, see e. g. PERROT, CHIPIEZ, Histoire de l'art. I, pp. 804—805, fig. 534; WILKINSON, Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians. II, p. 337 and III, p. 403.
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- 167 GANSSE-BURKHARDT, Das Leder und seine Verarbeitung im römischen Legionslager Vindonissa, pp. 71—73, figs. 47a, b and 48.
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- 170 DUNBAR, The Rock-Pictures of Lower Nubia, p. 7.
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- 174 LEXA, O poměru ducha, duše a těla u Egypťanů Staré Říše, pp. 56—57.
- 176 PETRIE, Amulets, p. 11, pl. I, 15; MYRES, Excavations at Palaikastro. II, pp. 356—387.
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- 180 BENGTSON, Griechische Geschichte von den Anfängen bis in die römische Kaiserzeit, p. 130.
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- 182 FOUCHER, The Beginnings of Buddhist Art and Other Essays in Indian and Central-Asian Archeology, p. 5.
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- 188 DONADONI, La Nubia Tolemaica e Romana, p. 128.

**ROCK DRAWINGS
OF SIGNS AND SYMBOLS
FROM CZECHOSLOVAK CONCESSION
IN NUBIA**

II.

INTRODUCTION

A work on rock drawings from Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia can hardly deal in greater detail with the numerous problems concerning the theory of sign, symbol, and the process of communication in general. We encounter undoubtedly a very serious problem consisting of a number of aspects (e. g. philosophical, psychological, sociological, artistic, etc.) the solution of which rests in the hands of competent scholars. Let us, therefore, limit this introductory part to a few quotations of definitions and general principles as proposed in A. Schaff's Introduction to Semantics (pp. 162 ff.)

A sign is any material object, its property or material event, if in the process of communication it serves, within the framework of the language accepted by the discussants, the transmission of a thought about the reality, i. e. the outer world, or about the inner (emotional, esthetic, volitional etc.) experiences of one of the communicating parties. The classification of signs, the task of which is to find in the framework of a common basis the specificity of individual sorts of signs and determine their interrelationship, varies from author to author. Schaff gives in the work quoted above the following classification: Signs can be divided into natural signs (indications) and artificial or proper signs; the latter are divided into word signs and proper signs with the function of derived expression; the latter consist of signals and substitutive signs which divide further into signs in a strict sense and symbols.

Symbols are thus a sub-class of substitutive signs and are characterized especially by these three properties:

1. Material objects representing abstract concepts.
2. The representation is based on a stipulation which has to be known to understand the symbol.
3. The stipulated representation is built on the representation of an abstract concept by a sign, i. e. on the representation whose outer appearance is sensual (and which, from the viewpoint of contents, is exemplifying, alegorical, based on a metaphor, mythology, ■ principle *pars pro toto*, etc.).

The starting point for an analysis of the sign as well as its meaning is the process of communication, i. e. the process which is social par excellence and in which the sign functions as a means of communication and with the purpose of communicating. The main function of the sign is thus to render information to someone about something.

The origin of the cross and its original meaning have not yet been satisfactorily explained. There is no univocal answer to the question whether the origin of the cross is purely a matter of decoration, i. e. whether we encounter a simple division of a circular or square area by two diagonals which cross for ornamental purposes, or whether the cross has had from the very beginning another concrete meaning (or meanings).¹ In Europe, cruciform motifs are dated as back as the Palaeolithic times and their occurrence increased in more recent periods (they can be found, for example, even among Neolithic rock drawings in Scandinavia²). Numerous documents of the occurrence of cruciform motifs are known also from the eastern part of the Mediterranean area and Mesopotamia. The cross appears as a decorative element on painted pottery from Tell Halaf and Susa; it is documented for the prehistoric layers at Warka, Nineveh and Tepe Gawra as well. Cruciform amulets are known from Arpachiyah and Lagash. Assyrian rulers in the ninth and eight centuries B.C. wore on their neck pendants in the form of an equilateral cross which used to be regarded as an important solar symbol; among others, the cross was the symbol of the god Anu.³ Even Schliemann encountered the cross as a solar symbol when he was excavating Troy. The representations of the cross found in India had a similar solar meaning. On the other hand, for the Chinese the

cross inscribed into a square was the symbol of the earth. Cruciform symbols were not unknown to the original inhabitants of America for whom the cross symbolized the four cardinal points from which come the wind and the rain.⁴

A fundamental change in the comprehension of the cruciform sign occurred with the expansion of Christianity. In Christian ikonography the cross soon became something more than a mere all-Christian symbol and Christ's emblem — it was Christ himself. Even though the first Christian representations of the cross are documented for as early as the second century A.D., Christ used to be commonly referred to in the early phases of the Christian era by the initials of his name, i. e. I and X, or I, X, and P. The cross began to be commonly used as the Christian symbol only in the fourth century A.D., following the so-called "finding" of the Cross by the Empress Helena on May 3, 328. A more exact term for the event would probably be a "re-finding" because the genuine cross is said to have been found during the reign of Tiberius when St. James was Bishop of Jerusalem.⁵ The new Christian view of the cross was not, however, universal. Cruciform symbols and motifs were simultaneously used in other, non-Christian contexts. Thus, for example, the cross is an old and favourite tribal mark of various ethnic groups in Africa and the Near East.⁶

A. The Equilateral Cross



(commonly used are also other names such as the Greek Cross, Crux Simplex, etc.)

The real cross consists of a stake with a rectangularly fastened beam which is as long as the stake; in the case of a decorative motif there are two abscissas of identical length which cross rectangularly in the middle.⁷ It is generally considered the most common form of the pre-Christian cross in the Mediterranean⁸, Near Eastern⁹, Indian¹⁰, and other areas.

The motif of an equilateral cross occurred on Egypt's territory as early as the prehistoric times, the most common being the so-called pottery mark.¹¹ Since those times the motif has occurred in various periods of Egyptian history, namely, in the Protodynastic Period¹², the Old Kingdom¹³, the Middle Kingdom¹⁴, the New Kingdom, and the Late Period¹⁵. Even though it is most frequently represented by the pottery mark, it has also become an important decorative element of Egyptian arts¹⁶. The motif of an equilateral cross was not unknown in Nubia, either. We encounter it there, for example, as a decorative element on Romano-Nubian pottery from Karanog¹⁷. With the spread of Christianity, representations of the cross began to occur more frequently; it was the equilateral cross that belonged to the four earliest types of the cross in all the areas into which Christianity spread¹⁸. It is found in a great variety of connections with the newly established religion, being, for example, engraved or painted on rocks of Coptic sanctuaries, on boulders and rocks in their vicinity, on shady spots used by pilgrims for resting, etc.¹⁹ The equilateral cross is one of the most common nomadic tribal marks called

"wasm"²⁰ which continue to be used by a number of nomadic tribes throughout northern Africa and western Asia²¹. It is, of course, present among the rock drawings in these areas, as well as in Egypt²² and Nubia²³. Upon this occasion we cannot fail to mention the religious significance that has been ascribed to the cross by Nubian natives. Thus, for example, during the wedding ceremony the young couple leaves the village accompanied by a sheikh to paint a cross on a nearby rock (most frequently with the blood of a sacrificial ram).²⁴

The equilateral cross can be found among the rock drawings on Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia as well. When sorting out cruciform pictures, we included in this category also the types which remind us more of the so-called St. Andrew's cross, i. e. two crossing beams which do not contain quite exactly the right angle (e. g. Cat. No. 206).

Notes:

Cat. No. 206: An engraving of the equilateral cross is superimposed on a Hellenic rock drawing of the head of the deity. Next to the cross there is a carving of a footprint with indicated toes, which comes most likely from the same time as the cross (identical techniques and patina, germane mutual arrangement of the space).

Cat. No. 673: It cannot be excluded that both engravings of the cross belong, together with three other marks, to one tribal mark. It is more likely, however, they are somewhat younger than the three marks; this is not so clear from the direct superposition but more from their location on the rock and a slightly different technique (shallower incision).

Dating:

Cat. No. 206 and perhaps even No. 250 come from the Christian Period in Nubia. The other rock drawings, i. e.

Cat. Nos. 31, 115, 164, 168, 191, 220, 323, 435, 507, 673, 832, 853 and 932 are most probably tribal marks from the Arabic Period.

B. The "Maltese" Cross



(It is sometimes called the Coptic cross, the solar cross, the rayed cross, or "la croix patée"). In fact, the term "Maltese" cross is not in the given case quite exact. In the "Maltese" cross the ending of individual arms has a specific V-shaped form (the shape of the "swallow's tail"). Nevertheless, even in scholarly literature, this specification is commonly used for the type "la croix patée" as well.²⁵

The "Maltese" cross belongs to ancient decorative elements and symbols in Mesopotamia,²⁶ on Crete, and in Italy.²⁷ In ancient Egypt it is encountered as the so-called pottery mark on painted pottery from the North and comes from the Second Intermediate Period²⁸; other documents are known from the New Kingdom and the Late Period.²⁹ Even this type of cross is an important decorative element in Egyptian arts, especially in wall painting.³⁰ As far as Nubia is concerned, representations of the "Maltese" cross are known from Barkal, Meroe, Qustul and other places.³¹ The frequency of the occurrence of those representations in Egypt and Nubia became increasingly intensive under the impact of Christianity. We come upon "Maltese" crosses in connection with Coptic inscriptions in sanctuaries and on stelae, on seals and pottery, etc.³² It is interesting to note that in Christian Nubia the occurrence of the cross became more frequent as early as the so-called First Christian Period.³³ The "Maltese" cross is, of course, well documented even among Nubian rock drawings.³⁴

Rock drawings of "Maltese" crosses occur on Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia rather rarely, which prevents us from attempting a statistical evaluation or a thorough morphological analysis.

Dating:

The "Maltese" crosses Cat. Nos. 126, 323 and 905 come from the Christian Period in Nubia, perhaps from its older phase.

C. The Potent (Jerusalem) Cross



The motif of the potent cross is documented both from Egypt³⁵ and Nubia³⁶. It is present among rock drawings even though it does not occur very frequently³⁷. We come upon this type of cross as representing, among other things, the tribal mark, the wasm, for example at Umm Agaib in the area of Wadi el-cAllaqi³⁸. As far as the dating of its occurrence in Nubia is concerned it seems to belong to the earlier phase of the Christian Period in Nubia and to the Arabic Period.³⁹

*

The finds of rock drawings of the potent cross on Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia are quite rare.

Notes:

Cat. No. 213: It is not clear in the given case whether, from a purely typological point of view, we deal with a casually executed potent cross or whether it is the so-called crosslet.

Cat. No. 858: A potent cross is located on the rear part of the nave and seems to be younger than the nave, even though identical patina and technique do not exclude identical date of origin.

Cat. No. 945: Even in this case we do not encounter a pure type of the potent cross but its more decorative variant supplemented with two small crosses located under both ends of the transverse beam⁴⁰.

Dating:

The rock drawings of potent crosses Cat. Nos. 789, 858, and 945 come from the early? Christian Period in Nubia; in Cat. No. 213 we cannot exclude the possibility that it is a wasm from the Arabic Period.

D. The Cross with Two Transverse Beams



Two transverse beams, the upper shorter and the lower longer, are characteristic for the so-called Patriarchal cross⁴¹ which was, however, common neither in Egypt nor Nubia. The cross with two transverse beams is, on the other hand, a relatively common Bedouin tribal mark;⁴² in this case, however, both the beams are of the same length (and we, therefore, speak sometimes of the so-called double cross).

*

Crosses with two transverse beams are documented also among the rock drawings on Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia.

Notes:

Cat. No. 447: A rock drawing of the cross with two equally long transverse beams is somewhat aside from a group of rock drawings representing animals and humans; it has the same kind of light patina as the adjoining Arabic inscription. We are very likely to deal with a tribal mark.⁴³

Cat. No. 932: Four rock engravings of crosses with two equally long transverse beams. All the engravings are characterized by a small drilled pit at the end of each engraved line. The engravings are amidst rock drawings of animals and are very likely to represent tribal marks.⁴⁴

Cat. No. 945: A unique rock drawing among the Czechoslovak finds representing a cross with two transverse beams, the upper shorter than the lower. At the end of the right arm of the longer transverse beam there is a short hammered outline placed almost vertically to the arm. The patina of this cross seems somewhat darker than that of the decorative potent cross from the Christian Period situated nearby; the darker colour of the patina may have been caused by the shallower line of incision. An analogical rock drawing, even though located horizontally, was published by Field among the graffiti from Iraq.⁴⁵

Dating:

The rock drawings of crosses with two transverse beams Cat. Nos. 447 and 932 are tribal marks from the Arabic Period. In Cat. No. 945 we can hardly ascertain whether we deal with a wasm from the Arabic Period or a Christian symbol.

E. The Cross with Three Transverse Beams



The middle beam is the longest one, being as long as the vertical beam. Both the upper and lower beams are of the same length, both breaking in a right angle at their left ends and continuing towards the middle transverse beam by short incisions. It is thus a type of cross which originated by combining the equilateral and double crosses. This

type was not common among the Christians in Egypt and Nubia. On the other hand, however, we come upon it in various modifications as representing a tribal mark⁴⁶.

*

Two rock drawings of the cross with three transverse beams were found in the same location.

Dating:

Both rock drawings of the cross with three transverse beams are most probably tribal marks from the Arabic Period. This conclusion is also supported by the fact that on the same rock there are other rock drawings of tribal marks in the form of equilateral cross, swastika, and others.

F. Cruciform Pictures — Varia



The basis of the rock drawing Cat. No. 194 is the equilateral cross placed into a bigger geometrical picture which is a combination of an equilateral cross and a square. This is a unique find of the kind on Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia.

Dating:

There are Greek inscriptions⁴⁷ near the rock drawing of the cross which are, however, executed in a different technique. The cross Cat. No. 194 comes probably from the Christian Period in Nubia.



The basis of the rock drawing Cat. No. 452 is the so-called Latin cross,⁴⁸ above the transverse beam of which there are the initials INRI. This engraving of the cross is unique among the Czechoslovak finds of rock drawings from Nubia. The engraving of the cross was in a later period deliberately damaged.

Dating:

The engraving of the cross Cat. No. 452 comes from the Late Christian Period in Nubia or even later times.



A unique rock drawing of the cross (Cat. No. 323) from Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia.

Dating:

The Late Christian Period in Nubia.⁴⁹

(Also called Hacken Kreuz, gammadion, fylfot; the name swastika is of Indian origin: su = well, asti = to be.)

The swastika is of an ancient origin and it is, apart from the equilateral cross, regarded as the most commonly used symbol and decorative element of the ancient times. Its arms can project to the right or left; in the former case we use the Indian name swastika while in the latter case we refer to it as sauwastika⁵⁰.

The country of origin of the swastika is most often found in Mesopotamia even though the interpretations of its original meaning are not quite unambiguous. While some assert it is a pictogram for a fortified settlement or fortress, others think it is a solar symbol derived from the rungs of the wheel of the solar cart, and still others consider it a wind-rose, a pictographic representation of the wind-whirl⁵¹. We encounter the swastika on painted pottery from Samara and Elam, as well as that from Ur and Fara. The Hassunah Period gave birth to a famous group of female figures arranged in such a manner that their bodies form a cross and their hair change the cross into a swastika. It would be possible to provide a number of other facts documenting the spread of the swastika from Asia Minor via Mesopotamia as far as Iran and showing quite clearly what a powerful form it has represented throughout the centuries.⁵² The above mentioned geographical distribution of the swastika

contrasts, however, quite remarkably with its absence in the Palestinian area.⁵³ There are opinions which place the origin of the swastika to the Indian sub-continent.⁵⁴ It is said that originally the swastika was to represent the spring sun while the sauwastika the autumn sun. According to others, the former was to represent the God Ganesa and the male principle while the latter was to represent the Goddess Kali and the female principle. The swastika also became a very popular emblem of the Buddhists and it was through Buddhism it penetrated into Chinese and Japanese ikonography. In China, for example, the swastika became one of the characters expressing "plurality", "abundance", "prosperity", "long life", etc. The swastika motif can be sporadically found also on the African and American continents.⁵⁵ As far as Europe is concerned, the swastika got there as late as the Post-Mycenaean Period and became very quickly established as one of the most popular ornamental elements and symbols of the Early Iron Age in south-eastern Europe from where it went on penetrating into other parts of the continent. As a symbol it has had in Europe a variety of meanings, most often being a solar symbol and an amulet for good luck or for disease exhortation.⁵⁶ With the spread of Christianity we can come upon the swastika in Europe in connection with numerous Christian remains and other Christian symbols including the cross.⁵⁷

It is difficult to ascertain whether the ancient Christians used the swastika especially from the formal standpoint, i. e. as an equivalent to the cross, or whether they knew its former origin and wanted to express by its representation their desire for prosperity and the like.⁵⁸

The swastika is well-known from Egypt, too, even though it got there in a later historical period than to Mesopotamia. One of the oldest documents of its occurrence in Egypt is probably a button-seal from tomb No. 28 at Kafr Ammar coming from Dyn. V—VI.⁵⁹ This swastika, as well as some others dated by Petrie⁶⁰ into approximately the same period, i. e. Dyn. VII, reminds us of Mesopotamian swastikas formed from human bodies and limbs. In later historical periods, however, i. e. in the Middle and New Kingdoms, it appears among the so-called pottery marks in its most common, strictly geometrical, rectangular shape.⁶¹

A remarkable similarity with the oldest Mesopotamian patterns is represented by the swastika ornament in the ceiling decoration of the tomb of Amenemheb at Thebes (Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, tomb No. 85) coming from Dyn. XVII.⁶² Apart from that, however, the decoration of the tombs in the New Kingdom consists of an ornament of the geometrical, strictly rectangular swastika.⁶³ It is likely that other documents concerning the occurrence of the swastika in Egypt are known only from the Roman and later periods. The rock drawings of the swastika discovered in the Eastern Desert by Golenischeff come probably from the Roman Period.⁶⁴ Winkler found similar rock drawings of the swastika in the southern part of Upper Egypt ascribing them as owner's marks to the Blemyes; some of those swastikas were secundarily (?) engraved into and above the rock drawing of a footprint; judging from the patina and technique, the drawings

cannot be chronologically far apart.⁶⁵ The representation of the swastika on the button of the handle from Gurob comes from the Christian era,⁶⁶ and so does the swastika on the seals from the Monastery of Cyriacus (the sixth to seventh centuries)⁶⁷ and that from el-Bagawat in the Kharga Oasis.⁶⁸ The oldest documented representations of the swastikas from Lower Nubia come probably from the Roman Period only, or from the Romano-Nubian Period.⁶⁹ Into the same period is dated the tomb stela (C 40229) discovered by Wooley and McIver at Karanog representing a woman dressed in a long white skirt and holding by the hand a naked man (deceased?); on the right side of her skirt there is a representation of the swastika.⁷⁰ Swastikas in the form of pottery marks or decorative motifs are documented even for the pottery from the X-Group Period.⁷¹ Neither do we miss documents concerning Christian representations of the swastika as demonstrated, for example, by the graffito of the swastika on the pottery at Ghazali in Northern Sudan coming from the tenth-eleventh century.⁷²

On Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia there were found only a few rock drawings of the swastika. The allocation of those sparse rock drawings, their location on the rock, as well as the technique of their execution do not allow us to draw more general conclusions. Yet, even this small set of finds exhibits a relatively great variability in shape.

Notes:

Cat. No. 115: A sauwastika is hammered-out on the rock in immediate vicinity of several tribal marks. Not only the technique the marks are executed in but even the patina are identical with those of the sauwastika.

Cat. No. 185: A group of rock drawings formed by a swastika and a few marks imitating the swastika. It cannot

be univocally ascertained whether all the marks originated at the same time or by stages. Next to the swastika a small ϵ is inscribed.

Cat. No. 191: A group of three swastikas, two incised (one swastika and one sauwastika) and one hammered-out which seems to be younger. The incised swastika appears to be the oldest in the group; it was later changed by means of four arrows into a sign of the cardinal

points. The swastikas are surrounded by rock drawings of tribal marks.

Dating:

The rock drawings of swastikas *Cat. Nos. 115, 185, 191 and 323* are probably tribal marks from the Romano-Nubian Period. The two sauwastikas *Cat. Nos. 29 and 191* may be symbols from the Christian Period in Nubia.

Shape Variants:

*Cat. No. 29
and 191:*



*Cat. No. 115
and 191:*



Cat. No. 185:



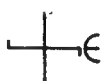
Cat. No. 191:



Cat. No. 185:



Cat. No. 185:



Cat. No. 323:



Cat. No. 323:



The pentagram symbol is documented for both the most important centres of ancient civilizations, Mesopotamia and Egypt, as early as the historic and even prehistoric periods. In Mesopotamia, the pictogram of a five-pointed star appears already on pictographic tablets from the archaic period Uruk IV and even more frequently on Djemdet-Nasr and protodynastic tablets in connection with an ambiguous title expressing perhaps geographical universality of the ruler's power. The five-pointed star is depicted also on painted pottery from Djemdet-Nasr, it is inscribed in a clay tablet from Fara, etc.⁷⁵ As early as the ancient times, the pentagram was considered a great and mighty protection, a symbol of stability and wisdom. It is said to have been carved on the magic ring of Salomon (hence its later name "Salomon's seal"). The five points of the star are to express not only spatial universality and stability but they have the magic meaning of number five. On old Hebrew amulets, the pentagram is considered a powerful protection of health.⁷⁴

In Egypt (just as in Mesopotamia), the pentagram served as an ideogram of the star, the celestial body, and later also as the phonogram *šb3*, etc.⁷⁵ The oldest Egyptian representations of a five-pointed star can be found, however, on prehistoric pottery. They are characteristic for their lack of uniformity: on the one hand the pentagram appears as a tiny pottery mark and on the

other as a clearly symbolic decoration (see, for example, the Semaina large jar on which there is painted in dark colour a big five-pointed star covering almost entirely the body of the vessel⁷⁶). As a common pottery mark (it was easy to inscribe in one stroke into soft clay), the pentagram occurs also on pottery from the Proto-Dynastic Period⁷⁷ and the Old Kingdom⁷⁸. Even the Barsanti's find of a graffito of a five-pointed star belongs among the remarkable finds from the Old Kingdom; it is painted in red colour on a stone block at Zawiyet el-Aryan⁷⁹ representing perhaps a stone-cutting mark. Among the graffiti coming from the Middle Kingdom, Cotteville-Giraudet discovered a pentagram even at Medamud.⁸⁰ From the Middle Kingdom onwards we can encounter amulets in the form of a five-pointed star which can, however, be inscribed on the base of another amulet, e. g. in the form of a frog, or a fertility and prosperity symbol. As far as mummies are concerned, five-pointed stars are found under bandages on their neck and stomach.⁸¹ The tradition of the pentagram as the so-called pottery mark survived, however, also in the Middle Kingdom.⁸² An interesting decorative motif in the shape of a five-pointed star was found on painted pottery from the North, discovered at Ghaza and coming from the Second Intermediate Period; in the centre of the star there is a circle and the arms of the star are filled up with transverse lines.⁸³

The pentagram as the so-called pottery mark is documented for the New Kingdom and the Late Period as well.⁸⁴ In this brief outline of pentagram representations we should not forget the important role which the five-pointed star played as a symbolic and decorative element in Egyptian arts, e. g. in the decoration of tombs, coffins, etc.⁸⁵ Quite common is the occurrence of the pentagram on Christian remains from Egypt. The five-pointed star appears on gnostic amulets from the third through fifth centuries,⁸⁶ on the stoppers of vessels coming from the sixth and seventh centuries which were found in the Monastery of Epiphanius,⁸⁷ as an ornamentation on the outer side of letters from Faiyum,⁸⁸ in chapels with Coptic inscriptions,⁸⁹ and among graffiti from the Christian Period.⁹⁰ The pentagrams discovered among the rock drawings in Southern Upper Egypt are dated by Winkler to the Graeco-Roman-Coptic Period; for the most part, however, they belong as religious symbols to the Coptic Period.⁹¹

Rock drawings of the pentagram are known also from Nubia but, as pointed out by Dunbar, they occur very rarely.⁹² The oldest Nubian representations of the pentagram come, however, from the protodynastic pottery from Faras.⁹³ As in Egypt, even in Nubia we have documents of the occurrence of amulets in the shape of a five-pointed star from the Middle Kingdom onwards, e. g. the faience amulet discovered during excavations at the fortress of Semna.⁹⁴ On the theoretical plane we could take into consideration even the connections between some rock drawings of pentagrams and the activity of the Jewish border unit which was during the Persian occupation of Egypt situated at Elephantine. There is, however, no concrete evidence to support this hypothesis. Pentagram marks on objects coming from the X-Group Period belong

to the much younger Nubian documents.⁹⁵ In Nubia, just as in Egypt, the five-pointed star appears as the so-called pottery mark, for example on the large jar discovered by Junker at Toshka.⁹⁶ With the spread of Christianity in Nubia there increased the frequency of pentagram occurrence: it appeared as a favourite Christian symbol of wisdom, stability and universality on seals, as a graffito on stones, among Coptic inscriptions in sanctuaries, etc.⁹⁷ Equally common are, however, the documents of the five-pointed star from the Arabic Period. As far as the meaning is concerned, however, we witness a shift of the sign to the sphere of magic. This is why the pentagram is so often found at the end of Arabic magic texts.⁹⁸ In some cases the Arabs carved it near ancient Egyptian inscriptions, for example close to the cursive inscription from the New Kingdom at Khor Daud.⁹⁹ It is possible that there exists in those cases a remote reminiscence concerning the use of a seal on letters, for example on the outer side of the above-mentioned letter from Faiyum.¹⁰⁰

Rock drawings of pentagrams occur sporadically even among the finds on Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia. These finds are relatively easy to date, this being enabled especially by certain characteristic features of their execution and sometimes even by their relation to other rock drawings in the area.

Notes:

Cat. No. 31: A five-pointed star is depicted inside a circle, the points touching the circle. The centre of the circle, indicated by a deeper pit, is also the centre of the star. This representation resembles, on the whole, similar types from the Christian Period in Egypt, for example the representation on the clay stopper of a vessel coming from the sixth or seventh centuries and found in the Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes.¹⁰¹

Cat. No. 438: A rock drawing of the pentagram is executed in the same technique as the adjoining rock drawing of a camel. Both engravings have identical patina and are very likely to come from the same period.

Cat. No. 773: A rock drawing of the five-pointed star is superposed by an engraving of short-horn cattle.

Cat. No. 929: The shape and decoration of the rock drawing of the pentagram exhibits a striking similarity with the relatively rare representation of the pentagram on a pottery fragment from the North found at Gaza and coming from the Second Intermediate Period.¹⁰² In both cases all five arms of the star are filled up with transverse lines. The

wiped-off line of the drawing as well as the fact it is superposed by remnants of a younger rock drawing of the pentagram is quite old. Even though this pentagram is not conceivably so old as the above mentioned analogy from Ghaza, it is very likely to come from the Dynastic Period.

Dating:

The rock drawings of the pentagram Cat. Nos. 438, 517 and 773 come from the Arabic Period, Cat. No. 31 from the Christian Period, and Cat. No. 929 from the Dynastic Period (the New Kingdom?)

Shape Variants:

Cat. No. 31:



Cat. No. 929:



*Cat. No. 438,
517, 773:*



Spiral motifs appear as early as the Late Palaeolithic Times. In the Neolithic Times the shape of the spiral became fully developed¹⁰³ and belonged to important decorative elements on pottery. In the course of time the spiral has become one of the most widely spread motifs and symbols not only in Europe but also the Mediterranean area, Africa, the Near East, India, America, etc.¹⁰⁴

It is interesting to note the history of the spiral in Egypt. A simple spiral is a decorative motif found already on prehistoric pottery,¹⁰⁵ though it be only on a certain kind of clay vessels; otherwise the spiral does not seem to have been common among Egyptian prehistoric ornaments. This has given rise to the hypothesis that the spiral on the above mentioned clay vessels represents an attempt to indicate concentric circles and spiral shapes which form the colour layers of stones on stone vessels.¹⁰⁶ Another natural model for the spiral is seen in snail's shell which belonged to popular decorations in the predynastic and dynastic Egypt.¹⁰⁷ From the Prehistoric to the Late Period come also amulets in the shape of spirally twisted serpents; even this shape is copied from the nature.¹⁰⁸ It can neither be excluded that the spread of the spiral is connected with the development of basket making, especially the way in which the bottom part of baskets was made; as a matter of fact, from the Prehistoric Period onwards basket bottoms were made in

a spiral way.¹⁰⁹ At the beginning of the Predynastic Period, however, the spiral as a decorative motif disappeared from Egypt and that lasted throughout the Old Kingdom. The spiral reappeared in Egypt as late as the end of the First Intermediate Period. That time, however, it was not merely the simple spiral but the so-called infinite spiral which came probably from the eastern part of the Mediterranean area.¹¹⁰ We encounter this kind of spiral very often on scarabs¹¹¹ among tomb decorations (e. g. at Meir)¹¹², and we could give a number of other examples of the spiral motif in ornamental arts, architecture, etc. from various periods of Egyptian history.¹¹³ Spiral ornaments were discovered by Winkler also among rock drawings in Southern Upper Egypt. He relates some of the spirals to the hunting magic of the so-called "earliest hunters" (representations of animal entrails), others to a serpent game etc.¹¹⁴ Toward the end of the New Kingdom the spiral began again to disappear from Egypt.¹¹⁵

As in Egypt, we encounter the spiral in a variety of contexts also in Nubia. It appears among rock drawings (some spirals on a horizontal rock are connected by Dunbar with the original ancient Egyptian "serpent-game" which preceded the modern Kababish "hyena game"¹¹⁶), on pottery from the Romano-Nubian Period,¹¹⁷ as a decorative element on the capitals of Christian columns,¹¹⁸ and even as an amulet. Spiral amulets were discovered in flood-

ed female tombs, for example at Uri in Northern Darfur. The women of some African tribes continue to wear even today such amulets to guarantee their fertility and protect them from bewitchment. A similar amulet is still being used in Egypt for strengthening weak newlyborns¹¹⁹. Among the most interesting Nubian representations of the spiral undoubtedly belongs the graffito from Maharraka. The spiral is engraved there close to the demotic graffito No. 5 on the fourth temple column in its northern part. It has the same patina and is executed in the same technique as the mentioned graffito (of which the spiral is thus a complement) in which a Harway expresses the wish to "remain here before Osiris, Horus, and Isis for ever".¹²⁰ A similar interpretation — even though it is in an ancient Egyptian context and on the basis of an analysis of ancient Egyptian sources — of the spiral symbol, the infinite line of change, being and extinction, eternal movement and eternity on the whole, is given also by Thaussing.¹²¹

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As far as the Czechoslovak concessions are concerned, only a few rock drawings of spirals have been found, all of them being relatively close to one another.

Notes:

Cat. No. 789: A rock drawing of the spiral consists of twenty-eight hammered-out pits, all of them rather shallow. On the same rock there is another rock drawing of a potent cross, sandal, and quadrangle. The patina of the spiral is approximately the same as that of the sandal and a bit darker than that of the potent cross. Analogical spirals from hammered-out pits have been published for example by Hellström and Langballe (drawing on the finds on Scandinavian concessions in Nubia)¹²² and by Dunbar who dates the find erroneously to the Old Kingdom because of

its dark patina¹²³ (on absence of the spiral in the Old Kingdom see the text above).

Cat. No. 888: Two solitary rock drawings of closed spirals (one rotating left and the other right) are hammered out on a vaulted, bizzarly rugged stone edge. They are situated one close to the other giving the idea they are a "jeu de nature": the spirals would represent the eyes and the boulder the body of the lying creature. We should consider another meaning of the spirals, though. Their shape reminds us of the amulets which continue to be regarded by some African tribes as a powerful protection of weak children, a guarantee of fertility, and a protection against bewitchment. Dating is very difficult. As to the shape the spirals may come from the prehistoric as well as the most recent rock drawings. The patina of the spirals is relatively light and does not indicate they are very old.

Cat. No. 899: A solitary rock drawing of a closed spiral roughly hammered out and with a relatively light patina of the line. As far as the shape is concerned there is an analogy with the spirals *Cat. No. 888*.

Dating:

The rock drawing of the spiral *Cat. No. 789* may come from the Romano-Nubian Period, the spirals *Cat. Nos. 888* and *899* are probably younger, coming perhaps from the Arabic Period.

Shape variants:

Cat. No. 789:



Cat. No. 899:



Cat. No. 888:



In the Pyramid Texts we can already encounter the word *sn̄t* meaning "to found, to measure out foundations", etc.¹²⁴ This word is determined by ■ measuring rope twisted into a loop of quite a specific shape. Later on this word was used also in derivative meanings such as "to settle down, install", etc.¹²⁵ The Middle Kingdom material gives evidence that the above mentioned loop of a rope was used as the so-called pottery mark¹²⁶ and a symbol which appears among the graffiti.¹²⁷ The same kind of loop, as well as the loop shapes derived from it, are known from the unpublished finds made at the cemetery at Kerma the chronological dating of which is still unclear.¹²⁸ Dunbar discovered very similar (in fact doubled) loops among rock drawings near Gerf Hussein, regarding them as the work of craftsmen and artisans from the local temple. He also draws attention to the fact that the sign of a doubled loop is known in Lower Nubia since the period of protodynastic pottery and that of the C-Group.¹²⁹ A very interesting find of an "open" loop comes from the cemetery No. 118 between El-Shima el-Kebira and El-Shima el-Saghira south of Dakka.¹³⁰ In the cemetery, there was discovered in early C-Group graves a large jar on the shoulders of which a stylized hunting scene is engraved. Just behind the dog leashed on a rope and pursuing prey there is depicted an open loop symbol of the above-mentioned shape. Is there

thus ■ relation between the loop and the scene in the sense of hunting magic?

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Several rock drawings of loops discovered on Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia start essentially from the shape of the ancient Egyptian loop sign *sn̄t* even though they differ from it in details. It is difficult, however, to interpret the meaning of individual rock drawings of loops. Dunbar¹³¹ was probably right to note that some rock drawings of loops found around Gerf Hussein (see our Cat. Nos. 301, 302 and 303) could have been created by ancient Egyptian craftsmen engaged in building the Temple of Gerf Hussein. If their meaning had a connection with the ancient Egyptian ideogram *sn̄t*, the loops would have probably been foundation symbols related to the building of the local temple. Equally ambiguous is the problem of interpreting some of the loops in the sense of hunting magic, i. e. as a symbolic lasso, etc. (see our Cat. Nos. 301 and 302.) Finally, we cannot exclude the possibility that in the case of the rock drawing of a loop coming from Nag^c el-Wādi el-Abyad (Cat. No. 220) we come upon a tribal mark, a wasm.

Notes:

Cat. No. 220: Next to the loop there is a sign resembling reversed V (probably a wasm) and a bit further an equilateral cross (a wasm, too). All the four rock

drawings have a very light patina which conspicuously contrasts with the patina of the remnant of a dynastic graffito situated to the right of the loop (its patina is the same as that of the rock).

Cat. No. 301: A group of several rock drawings of loops (see *Cat. Nos. 302 and 303*) which are undoubtedly identical with those mentioned by Dunbar, was discovered near the village Nag^c Abū Zāna situated about 900 metres north of Gerf Hussein. In the case of *Cat. No. 301* the loop is superimposed on a rock drawing of a bull with lyre-shaped horns. It is hard to determine whether it represents a magico-hunting symbol which is to help catch the bull or whether it is a foundation symbol used by craftsmen.

Cat. No. 302: This loop is some ten metres south of that in *Cat. No. 301* and about five metres north of two loops in *Cat. No. 303*. It differs from the adjoining loops by its shape even though it seems to be derived from the basic shape of the loop *snl*, too. The patina of the line is lighter than that of the rock.

Cat. No. 303: One loop is superimposed on remnants of an older, unidentified rock drawing. From a strictly formal standpoint, the other loop, which is not so perfect and symmetrical, seems to be a later attempt at imitating the first one. It is interesting to note that the patina of the line of both the loops is as dark as the colour of the rock.

Dating:

The rock drawing of the loop *Cat. No. 220* is likely to come from the Arabic Period and the loops *Cat. Nos. 301, 302 and 303* perhaps from the New Kingdom.

Shape Variants:

Cat. No. 220:



Cat. No. 302:



Cat. No. 301, 303:



The altar — the place where rests the offering brought to worshipped deity — is an important part of the cult. Egyptian altars greatly vary (this is supported not only by concrete finds but the numerous names of altars as well¹³²) having passed through a long and intricate development the details of which we shall not mention here. What is important is the fact the Egyptians had a very utilitarian view of the altar, namely, as the object serving the presentation (i. e. the display or burning) of an offering. And so the altar, however important role it played in the cult, never became the principal aim of the cult, never representing the central point of Egyptian temples.¹³³ It is also important to note that the shapes of Egyptian altars differ from the Semitic ones among which we rank especially the so-called horned altar.¹³⁴ The representations of this Semitic altar, which come from the second half of the fourth millenium B.C. (the Gawra Period)¹³⁵, demonstrate quite clearly the age of this altar used for the burning of offerings. We know a number of altars of this type from a much younger period, e. g. from Petra. The altars as such have not survived, however, and we know them only from their representations in relief or from rock drawings. They are basically of two kinds: the first group contains altars of slender shape, twice as high as their width, ended by horns at the top; altars of the second group have a pedestal and a top

panel on the corners of which there are horns. In the case of finds from Petra we encounter votive representations, symbols of a deity, which come from the Roman Period.¹³³

As far as their shape is concerned, Egyptian altars began to resemble horned Semitic altars during the Greek Period.¹³⁷ Miniature horned altars (βῶμος κεροῦχος) used for burning incense, were very popular in Egypt during the Greek and Roman Periods. The miniature altars were made mostly from unimflammable materials such as bronze, burned clay, or stone.¹³⁸ The erection of large horned altars before tombs (e. g. before the entrance to the tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel¹³⁹) is considered a foreign influence on Egyptian territory. This type of altar appears also among representations on temple walls as demonstrated, for example, by a relief in the Temple of Pnifer at Theadelphia.¹⁴⁰ Petrie found small models of those altars during his extensive archaeological excavations in various parts of Egypt; a clay model of the altar from Ehnasiya is dated to the fourth century A.D.¹⁴¹

Similarly, in the ruins of houses coming from the Graeco-Roman Period at Medinet Quta in the westernmost corner of Lake Karun, Fakhry discovered a number of miniature wooden (sic!) altars with horns used for home cults.¹⁴² It is not surprising, therefore, to find horned altars among rock drawings. Winkler discovered as many as

seven such drawings grouped together at one spot in Southern Upper Egypt; he considers them an important element of the cult and ascribes them to the Blemiye.¹⁴³

Rock drawings of horned altars appear also in Nubia, e. g. in the quarry at Tafa,¹⁴⁴ or on pottery. A very illustrious example was published by Shafik Farid: a lavishly decorated altar with a pedestal and horns at the top is painted in white colour on the body of a large redware jar. Shafik Farid is wrong, however, regarding this picture as a representation of the front part of a Nubian house.¹⁴⁵ Firth discovered similar representations on pottery coming from the X-Group cemetery north of the Temple of Maharraka (No. 122).¹⁴⁶ Similar discoveries were made also by Ricke during excavations in the area of Khor Dehmit and Beit el-Wali.

On the fragment of pottery BK/35g, which he published, there is a part of the former decoration in the shape of a horned altar.¹⁴⁷ Equally interesting are his finds of fragments of the horned altar which used to stand before a valley chapel west of Tafa.¹⁴⁸ Also the painted vase No. 8182, discovered by Woolley and MacIver during excavations at Karanog, contains a representation of a horned altar standing on a high pedestal with steps. It is noted that the type of the altar was common in both Syria and Egypt and that it could be considered the Table of the Sun in Meroe as mentioned by Herodotos (III, 18). The vase with a horned altar representation is dated to the Romano-Nubian Period.¹⁴⁹

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The rock drawings of horned altars on Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia can be divided into two groups:

1. simple rectangular horned altars
2. horned altars with a distinct pedestal.

The rock drawings are probably votive representations. It is interesting

to note that they are frequently situated near Egyptian or Greek inscriptions.

Notes:

Cat. No. 6: There are two rock drawings of altars, one of them well done and the other considerably simplified. The former altar is superimposed by an offering table.

Cat. No. 31: The rock drawing resembles a hybrid form between a stylized offering table and a horned altar.

Cat. No. 115: These two rock drawings of exceedingly stylized horned altars cannot be excluded to have had — in relation to their position on the rock, their technique and patina — the function of tribal marks.

Cat. No. 193: One rock drawing of a horned altar was discovered right below a Greek inscription (No. 189) dated to the Roman Period.¹⁵⁰ Two other altars of the same type, even though different in shape, were found nearby, being in immediate vicinity of rock drawings of foot and sandal prints.

Cat. No. 207: The upper rock drawing of a horned altar is undoubtedly contemporary with the Greek inscription situated to the right (No. 186) and dated to the first or second century A.D.¹⁵¹ The rock drawing of an altar situated underneath is an obvious imitation.

Cat. No. 245: In one case the rock drawing of an altar was not quite finished but it was undoubtedly to represent an altar with a pedestal.

Cat. No. 853: Even though the shape of the altar differs somewhat from the two categories of altars mentioned above, the altar does belong to one of them.

Dating:

All finds of rock drawings of horned altars, i. e. Cat. Nos. 6, 7, 31, 55, 115, 193, 200, 205, 207, 245, 323 and 853 come from the Romano-Nubian Period.

From the point of dating some younger imitations remain problematic (e. g. Cat. No. 207).

Shape Variants:

Cat. No. 6:



Cat. No. 31:



Cat. No. 245:



Cat. No. 205:



Cat. No. 853:



Cat. No. 207:



Cat. No. 193:



Cat. No. 200:



Cat. No. 7:



Cat. No. 55:



Cat. No. 115:



Cat. No. 193:



Cat. No. 323:



Cat. No. 6:



Cat. No. 193:



Cat. No. 245:



It used to be customary in ancient Egypt to place the offering on a square or oblong mat. As the time went on, the offering "tray" was made of more solid materials, especially stone, or burned clay, while the basic shape of the mat remained unchanged. If we take this into consideration we cannot be surprised to note that in accordance with ancient Egyptian thought there began to appear on stone or clay tables representations of offerings, votive texts, etc. The offering tables (or more exactly offering trays) went through a long development characterized by changes in shape, decoration and even meaning.¹⁵² One aspect of the above-mentioned process is of particular importance for the evaluation of our rock drawings, namely, the development of the symbolic and cultic meanings of the offering table. The offering table itself, or merely its stylized representation, became in the end quite sufficient to express the idea of offering; apart from that it had an advantage of being more permanent than the real offering which quickly perished during the act.¹⁵³ The cult presupposed one offering table for every single day of the year, i. e. altogether 365 offering tables which fully assured continuity of the offering, its infiniteness.¹⁵⁴ Offering tables and their representations are sparsely documented for various periods of Egyptian history and we can hardly evaluate properly their material, shape and decorative wealth. We shall, therefore, limit our

effort to a few of them such as, for example, the offering tables appearing among the so-called pottery marks on pottery from the Protodynastic Period, the Middle Kingdom, etc.¹⁵⁵ Černý discovered stylized offering tables even among the graffiti on the rocks of the Theban necropolis considering them likely to be labourer marks.¹⁵⁶ In the Late and Greek Periods, an amulet shaped as an offering table was widespread in Egypt.¹⁵⁷ Very simplified, stylized offering tables can be found even among rock drawings in the Eastern Desert¹⁵⁸ and in Southern Upper Egypt; Winkler, who discovered them, dates the drawings to the Graeco-Romano-Coptic Period.¹⁵⁹

In the course of time, the offering table became as popular in Nubia as it was in Egypt, this being so particularly in the Romano-Nubian Period.¹⁶⁰ Most rock drawings of offering tables in Nubia are likely to come from that period.¹⁶¹

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Rock drawings of offering tables are rather rare on Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia. Just like the rock drawings found elsewhere, those in Nubia exemplify both creative and intellectual simplification in expressing a symbolic and cultic idea: a stylized rock drawing becomes sufficient to express the act of offering assuring at the same time its endurance in time. This way of thought is verified by one remarkable document which does not come from the sphere of rock drawings but that of rock

inscriptions on Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia. North of the village of Nag' esh-Shima there was found a rock inscription (No. 170) from the beginning of the Middle Kingdom^{1,2} containing the name Mentuhotep. From the paleographic point of view it is quite unusual to note that the sign *hṭp* in the inscription is not expressed by the hieroglyph (see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Sign-list: R 4) but a stylized offering table as we know it from later votive representations. Even though the inscription No. 170 comes from the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, it is paleographically closer to the First Intermediate Period. By deliberately playing with signs, the author is very likely to have tried to increase the votive character of the inscription.

Notes:

Cat. No. 6: We encounter two rock drawings of offering tables under this catalogue number. One of them is depicted in low relief and there are two circle protrusions on the right side of its bottom part. It is either a secondary attempt at decorating the offering table with stylized offering or the intended decoration was never finished. The offering table is in superposition to a horned altar the remnants of which are clearly distinguishable on the left side of the offering table. This fact is important for the dating of offering tables and horned altars. On the same wall there is a rock drawing of another offering table flanked by two rock drawings representing a horse and a tribal mark, which have the same patina and are executed in the same technique. The offering table in the drawing may have had a votive character, even though it is more probable to have represented a tribal mark. It remains to be said that the wall includes rock drawings of two horned altars and a few ancient Egyptian inscriptions.^{1,3} Thus we can conclude that the offering tables and horned

altars are later votive representations located near older inscriptions.

Cat. No. 200: The offering table was carved into the rock secondarily, embracing an older rubbing pit. The hieroglyphic sign, namely the eye is inscribed in front of the offering table; it is executed in the same technique as the offering table and has identical patina. The older rubbing pit was thus used secondarily to express the offering formula *lr hṭp*.

Cat. No. 204: Formerly, a rock drawing of a smaller offering table seems to have been carved there. It was later found unsuitable and corrected by engraving around it a new, more regular rock drawing of an offering table.

Dating:

The rock drawing of an offering table *Cat. No. 6* (hammered out) may be of a younger date, perhaps the Arabic Period. The other rock drawings of offering tables, i. e. *Cat. Nos. 6* (in low relief), 197, 200, 204 and 892 come from the Romano-Nubian Period.

Shape Variants:

Cat. No. 6:



Cat. No. 200:



Cat. No. 204:



Cat. No. 6, 197:



Cat. No. 892:



Cat. No. 197:



In Christian Egypt and Nubia, the so-called anagrams, sometimes referred to as monograms, were in great favour. They were often quite ingeniously devised, are difficult to decipher, and contain various names such as that of Jesus Christ, various saints, etc.¹⁶⁴

Cat. No. 29:



Dating: The Christian Period in Nubia.

Cat. No. 591:



An incomplete anagram for which we have no photodocumentation but merely a record in the field notebook No. 1963/21, 7.

Dating: The Christian Period in Nubia.

Cat. No. 625:



A coptic anagram containing perhaps the name MIX(A)HA. A similar anagram was discovered also by a German expedition of Humboldt University

among secondary graffiti in the Temple of Mussawarat (unpublished to date).

Dating: The Christian Period in Nubia.

Cat. No. 828:



A Coptic anagram containing conceivably again the name MIX(A)HA. An analogical anagram was discovered among secondary graffiti in the Temple of Mussawarat (unpublished to date — conveyed kindly by dr. U. Hintze).

Dating: The Christian Period in Nubia.

Cat. No. 934:



An anagram containing the name MIXAHA is in superposition to a remnant of an older rock drawing; remnants of another anagram can be found nearby. An essentially identical anagram is inscribed, for example, under a relief coming from Dyn. XVIII in the Temple of Amada.¹⁶⁵ One more document of the kind comes from the same temple; the name MIXAHA is fully inscribed underneath.¹⁶⁶ Other Nubian records of the anagram with the name MIXAHA come, for example, from Sabagura,¹⁶⁷ Ghazali,¹⁶⁸ and other places.

Dating: The Christian Period in Nubia.

Cat. No. 6:



A tribal mark.¹⁶⁹ It is part of the group into which there belong also drawings of a horse and an offering table.

Dating: The Arabic Period (?)

Cat. No. 31:



A tribal mark. In its immediate vicinity we come upon rock drawings of cattle, various marks, etc.

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 81:



A tribal mark. It is situated between two groups of unidentified animals, perhaps representing horses.

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. Nos. 81, 947:



Strongly stylized rock drawings of chapels. The chapel Cat. No. 81 is situated on

the wall in immediate vicinity of erotic rock drawings (see Part III of this study) with the probable aim of negating them. As far as two chapels Cat. No. 947 are concerned, the one in which there is a sitting figure (Virgin Mary?) is older, while the other is a younger imitation. This view is supported by the difference in their technique and patina. The chapels seem to have been drawn by hermits or pilgrims (?).

Dating: The Christian Period in Nubia.

Cat. No. 95:



Most probably a tribal mark.

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 95:



A tribal mark.¹⁷⁰

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 115:



The rock drawing resembles the ancient Egyptian sign *ḥ*. An analogical sign was found, for example, by Golenischeff at Wadi Harit who considers it a stone-mason mark from the Roman Period inscribed by labourers from the nearby

quarry.¹⁷¹ It can also be a tribal mark, though.

Dating:

The Romano-Nubian Period (?).

Cat. No. 126:



Two rock drawings in the shape of a labrys. It is very likely a Christian symbol also used, for example, on letters instead of a sealing stick.¹⁷² The hypothesis that it was used for such a purpose is supported by the adjoining rock drawing of a Maltese cross.

Dating: The Christian Period in Nubia.

Cat. No. 144:



Tribal marks.¹⁷³ Both of them are hammered out in the group of rock drawings of cattle, having identical patina and technique.

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 150:



A tribal mark¹⁷⁴.

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. Nos. 150, 268, 853:



Cat. No. 488:



The motif and symbol of labrys belong-

ed to the most significant ones in the Mediterranean area.¹⁷⁵ In ancient Egypt the double sharp-edge axe occurred in the Predynastic Period¹⁷⁶ when it had the characteristically pointed shape of a sharp edge. Later on this axe disappeared from Egypt. Nevertheless, the motif of two triangles joined together at their peaks remained. It occurred quite commonly as a pottery mark on pottery in the Predynastic, Protodynastic¹⁷⁷ and even Dynastic Periods.¹⁷⁸ A special attention was paid to the labrys in the Greek and Roman Periods when it was considered a sacred weapon of Zeus.¹⁷⁹ As far as the Roman or Meroitic Periods are concerned, this motif was found, for example, on pottery from the Meroitic cemetery at Aksha.¹⁸⁰ An engraving of a labrys was discovered near the entrance into the rock tomb south of Khor el-Buqa el-Qibli. The engraving is in superposition to an older hammered-out rock drawing of cattle; with regard to the superposition and light patina we can date the carving to the Romano-Nubian or Christian Periods.¹⁸¹ We come upon this motif much more frequently in the Christian Period both in Egypt and Nubia.¹⁸² It is probable that it represents a stylized writing of the symbol "omega".¹⁸³ "Labrys"-shaped sign is, of course, quite common in Libyan inscriptions, for example at Qasrel-Zabw¹⁸⁴ where it is inscribed along desert roads used by the Bedouins.¹⁸⁵

Dating:

Cat. No. 268 (two engravings of labrys flanking a sandal print from the Roman Period with which they obviously coincide as to the period of origin). *Cat. No. 488* comes also from the Roman Period. *Cat. Nos. 150* (two rock drawings of a labrys) and *853* may come from the Romano-Nubian Period but they may be much younger and come from the Christian and Arabic Periods.

Cat. No. 186:



Cat. No. 397:



They are probably tribal marks.¹⁸⁶

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 194:



A group of tribal marks some of which have the shape of south-Arabian letters, others resemble Libyan signs.¹⁸⁷

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 194:



This is likely to be the so-called magical tablet used for exorcism, etc.¹⁸⁸ It is roughly hammered out and situated on a rock among inscriptions from the Roman Period and rock drawings from the Roman and Christian Periods.

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 207:



A tribal mark.¹⁸⁹

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 220:



A tribal mark.¹⁹⁰ There is a rock drawing of a loop nearby.

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 225:



A rock drawing depicting a stylized front section of a temple with two columns supporting an Egyptian cornice. In the middle of the temple there is an altar which was later deliberately damaged.

Dating: The Graeco-Roman Period

Cat. No. 225:



They are more likely tribal marks than stylized representations of corrals or traps.¹⁹¹

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. Nos. 266, 455:



A rock drawing of an eight-pointed star (or a cross drawn in one stroke?). It resembles other representations from various parts of Nubia (it is, for example engraved between the letters "alpha" and "omega" at the end of the Coptic stela from Ghazali¹⁹²). Can we thus judge from the find that it had a magic or symbolic meaning (the beginning — the end, time and spatial universality)? A similar star was discovered also by the German expedition of Humboldt University among the secondary graffiti on a wall of the Temple of Musawarat (unpublished to date — conveyed by dr. U. Hintze). Let us add that Edgerton mentions an eight-pointed rosette among the graffiti from the Coptic Period (?) at Medinet Habu.¹⁹³

Dating: The Christian Period in Nubia.

Cat. No. 417:



Tribal Marks.¹⁹⁴ The marks are arranged in the sequence in which they are copied above. Ours is a representative selection from a total of twenty-five marks engraved on the same rock wall in rather a haphazard manner. A number of these tribal marks have the shape of south-Arabian letters (determined by Professor K. Petráček, Department of Oriental and African Studies, Charles University).

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 438:



It is probably a tribal mark.¹⁹⁵
Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 438:



A tribal mark.¹⁹¹
Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 449:



A tribal mark.¹⁹⁷
Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 466:



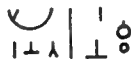
A tribal mark.¹⁹⁸
Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 497:



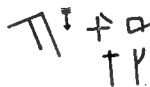
A tribal mark.¹⁹⁹
Dating: the Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 591:



Tribal marks (situated above a rock drawing of cattle).
Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 591:



Tribal marks (they are situated above a rock drawing of cattle).
Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 591:



Tribal marks (they are situated above a group of rock drawings of cattle).
Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 613:



Cat. No. 631:



Tribal marks.²⁰⁰
Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 616:



Tribal marks.²⁰¹ The vertical line which resembles the dividing line between words in south-Arabian graphic enables us to regard it as an inscription. However, this hypothesis is not supported by the presence of two tribal marks (the second and the ultimate signs). (Determined by Professor Petráček.)

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 672:



A tribal mark. In immediate vicinity of the mark there is a rock drawing of a camel executed in identical technique and having identical patina!

Dating: The Arabic Period.

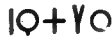
Cat. No. 673:



A tribal mark. As to the two cruciform marks in its immediate vicinity, see the text above (The Cruciform Pictures: The Equilateral Cross: Notes referring to Cat. No. 673).

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 674:



Tribal marks.²⁰² Some of them have the shape of south-Arabian letters but all of them are commonly known as tribal marks. Some of the marks resemble, however, Libyan marks known, for example, from inscriptions in the oases in the Western Desert.²⁰³

Cat. No. 692:



The wheel of sakiya.²⁰⁴

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 789:



A tribal mark? In the centre and the corners of the trapezium there are drilled small pits. The trapezium is engraved right behind the heel of a sandal print coming from the Roman Period but it has a somewhat lighter patina.

Dating: The Arabic Period?

Cat. No. 795:



Two tribal marks of the same shape inscribed one next to the other.

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 825:



A tribal mark

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 838:



A pentagon with enigmatic marks. Fiedler²⁰⁵ suggests it is an unfinished picture which served magical or astrological purposes.

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 853:



A tribal mark.²⁰⁹

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 853:



Tribal marks? Some of them resemble marks from Libyan inscriptions.²⁰⁷

Dating: The Arabic Period?

Cat. No. 853:



A tribal mark.

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 853:



A rock drawing of a bell.

Dating: The Christian Period?

Cat. No. 895:



A rock drawing of a game.²⁰⁸ In each section of the game there are one or two (and in one section even three) small pits.

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 950:



Tribal marks.²⁰⁹

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 950:



A tribal mark (a similar one was discovered by the German expedition among the graffiti on the walls of the Temple of Mussawarat — as conveyed by dr. U. Hintze)?

Dating: The Arabic Period.

Cat. No. 950:



A rock drawing of a sun disk with urei (? or horns?). Formerly it was an ancient Egyptian symbol which later became very popular in the circle of the Meroitic civilization.²¹⁰ The sun disk with urei appears also among rock drawings in Southern Upper Egypt and Winkler considers it a Blemian tribal mark.²¹¹ It was also discovered among the graffiti in the Temple of Mussawarat (as conveyed by dr. U. Hintze).

Dating: The Romano-Nubian Period.

Cat. No. 950:



A tribal mark?

Dating: The Arabic Period?

Cat. No. 950:



A tribal mark? A similar mark was found among the secondary graffiti on a wall in the Temple of Mussawarat (as conveyed by dr. U. Hintze).²¹²

Dating: The Arabic Period?

Cat. No. 31:



Cat. No. 31:



Cat. No. 31:



Cat. No. 31:



Cat. No. 37:



A roughly executed footprint

Cat. No. 38:



Cat. No. 54:



A tribal mark?

Cat. No. 58:



(Seven rock drawings.) A hook?
A fishing rod?

Cat. No. 59:



(Fourteen rock drawings.)
A hook?
A fishing rod

Cat. No. 60:



Cat. No. 60:



Cat. No. 60:



A hook? A fishing rod with an eylet?

Cat. No. 60:



Cat. No. 60:



An anchor?

Cat. No. 81:



A tribal mark?

Cat. No. 143:



Cat. No. 163:

Cat. No. 213:



Cat. No. 164:



Cat. No. 177:



Cat. No. 183:



A stylized camel?

Cat. No. 183:



Cat. No. 183:



A footprint with remnants of another drawing superimposed?

Cat. No. 194:



Cat. No. 207:



Cat. No. 220:



Cat. No. 220:



Cat. No. 267:



Cat. No. 323:



Cat. No. 323:



Cat. No. 323:



See Varia, Cat.
No. 323.

Cat. No. 384:



Cat. No. 384:



Cat. No. 384:



Cat. No. 397:



Cat. No. 437:



Cat. No. 438:



Cat. No. 438:



A stylized camel?
A wasm?

Cat. No. 438:



A tribal mark?

Cat. No. 447:



Cat. No. 455:



Cat. No. 465:



Cat. No. 480:



Cat. No. 480:



Cat. No. 482:



Cat. No. 484:



An unfinished
offering table?

Cat. No. 492:



Cat. No. 540:



Cat. No. 540:



Cat. No. 540:



Cat. No. 554:



Cat. No. 559:



Cat. No. 569:



Cat. No. 569:



Cat. No. 569:



Cat. No. 579:



Cat. No. 591:



Cat. No. 616:



Cat. No. 625:



Cat. No. 667:



Cat. No. 682:



Cat. No. 592:



Cat. No. 779:



Cat. No. 824:



Cat. No. 827:



Cat. No. 827:



Cat. Nr. 827:



Cat. No. 844:



Cat. No. 850:



(Two rock drawings.)

Cat. No. 852:



Cat. No. 853:



Cat. No. 853:



Cat. No. 853:



Cat. No. 853:



Cat. No. 853:



Cat. No. 853:



Cat. No. 853:



Cat. No. 853:



Cat. No. 853:



Cat. No. 853:



Cat. No. 853:



Cat. No. 880:



Cat. No. 880:



Cat. No. 883:



Cat. No. 894:



Cat. No. 895:



Cat. No. 906:



Cat. No. 916:



Cat. No. 918:



A donkey head?

Cat. No. 947:



Cat. No.	Deep Ham- mered Line	Shallow Ham- mered Line	Deep Incised Line	Shallow Incised Line	En-croix	Vertical Rock	Oblique Rock	Horizontal Rock	Number of Rock Drawings	Location
CRUCIFORM PICTURES										
Equilateral Cross										
31	+							+	1	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qibli
115	+						+		1	Nag' Marsāb
164	+					+			1	Nag' el-Fariq
168	+					+			2	Nag' Abū 'Asha
191	+						+		1	Nag' el-Khulūs
206			+					+	1	Nag' el-Khulūs
220	+					+			1	Nag' el-Wādī el-Abyad
250					+			+	1	Nag' Farag Allāh
323	+					+			1	Nag' el-Dōm el-Dakar
435			+			+			1	Korosko East Station
507	+							+	1	Korosko East Station
674			+					+	2	Korosko East Station
832			+			+			1	Korosko East Station
853			+			+			1	Korosko East Station
932			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
"Maltese" Cross										
126			+					+	2	Khōr el-Kārbashāb
323	+					+			1	Nag' el-Dōm el-Dakar
905			+			+			1	Korosko East Station

Cat. No.	Deep Hammered Line	Shallow Hammered Line	Deep Incised Line	Shallow Incised Line	En-croix	Vertical Rock	Oblique Rock	Horizontal Rock	Number of Rock Drawings	Location
Potent Cross										
213			+				+		1	Mettar Greig
789			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
858			+				+		1	Korosko East Station
858	+						+		1	Korosko East Station
945	+					+			1	Korosko East Station
Cross with Two Transverse Beams										
447	+					+			1	Korosko East Station
932			+					+	4	Korosko East Station
945	+					+			1	Korosko East Station
Cross with Three Transverse Beams										
191	+						+		2	Nag' el-Khulūs
Cruciform Pictures — Varia										
194	+					+			1	Nag' el-Khulūs
323	+					+			1	Nag' el-Dōm el-Dakar
452			+				+		1	Korosko East Station
SWASTIKA										
29	+					+			1	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī
115	+					+			1	Nag' Marsāb
185			+			+			3	Nag' Birbet Dandūr
191	+						+		1	Nag' el-Khulūs
191			+				+		2	Nag' el-Khulūs
323	+					+			2	Nag' el-Dōm el-Dakar

Cat. No.	Deep Hammered Line	Shallow Hammered Line	Deep Incised Line	Shallow Incised Line	En-creux	Vertical Rock	Oblique Rock	Horizontal Rock	Number of Rock Drawings	Location
PENTAGRAM										
31	+							+	1	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī
438			+			+			1	Korosko East Station
517				+				+	1	Korosko East Station
773				+				+	1	Korosko East Station
929			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
SPIRAL										
789	+						+		1	Korosko East Station
	(dots)									
888	+						+		2	Korosko East Station
899	+						+		1	Korosko East Station
LOOP										
220	+					+			1	Nag' el-Wādī el-Abyad
301	+					+			1	Nag' Abū Zāna
302	+					+			1	Nag' Abū Zāna
303	+					+			2	Nag' Abū Zāna
HORNED ALTAR										
6	+					+			2	Nag' Koltōt
7			+			+			1	Nag' Koltōt
31	+							+	1	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī
55				+				+	1	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī
115	+						+		2	Nag' Marsāb
193				+		+			1	Nag' el-Khulūs
193			+					+	2	Nag' el-Khulūs
200	+							+	1	Nag' el-Khulūs
205		+						+	1	Nag' el Khulūs
207	+						+		1	Nag' el-Khulūs
207				+			+		1	Nag' el-Khulūs

Cat. No.	Deep Hammered Line	Shallow Hammered Line	Deep Incised Line	Shallow Incised Line	En-croix	Vertical Rock	Oblique Rock	Horizontal Rock	Number of Rock Drawings	Location
245		+				+			4	Nag' Farag Allāh
323	+					+			3	Nag' el-Dōm el-Dakar
853	+						+		1	Korosko East Station

OFFERING TABLE

6			+			+			1	Nag' Koltōt
6				(Low relief)	+	+			1	Nag' Koltōt
197	+					+			1	Nag' el-Khulūs
200			+					+	1	Nag' el-Khulūs
204			+					+	1	Nag' el-Khulūs
892	+						+		1	Korosko East Station

COPTIC ANAGRAMS

29	+					+			1	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī
488			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
591	+								1	Korosko East Station
625			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
828			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
934			+					+	1	Korosko East Station

SYMBOLS AND SIGNS — VARIA

6			+			+			1	Nag' Koltōt
31			+					+	1	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī
81		+				+			1	Nag' Kabūsh
95			+			+			2	Nag' Marsāb
126			+					+	2	Nag' el-Karbashāb
144	+					+			2	Nag' es-Singāb
150			+			+			3	Nag' es-Singāb
186			+					+	1	Nag' el-Khulūs
194			+					+	5	Nag' el-Khulūs
194	+					+			1	Nag' el-Khulūs
207				+			+		1	Nag' el-Khulūs
220	+					+			1	Nag' el-Wādī el-Abyad

Cat. No.	Deep Ham- mered Line	Shallow Ham- mered Line	Deep Incised Line	Shallow Incised Line	En-croix	Vertical Rock	Oblique Rock	Horizontal Rock	Number of Rock Drawings	Location
225	+					+			2	Nag' el-Wādī el-Abyad
225			+			+			1	Nag' el-Wādī el-Abyad
266			+					+	2	Nag' esh-Shīma
268			+					+	2	Nag' esh-Shīma
397				+				+	1	Korosko East Station
417	+					+			25	Korosko East Station
438	+					+			1	Korosko East Station
438			+			+			1	Korosko East Station
449		+				+			1	Korosko East Station
455			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
466			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
488			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
497		+						+	1	Korosko East Station
591				+				+	17	Korosko East Station
613			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
616			+				+		6	Korosko East Station
631				+				+	1	Korosko East Station
672			+			+			1	Korosko East Station
673			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
674				+				+	5	Korosko East Station
692			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
789			+				+		1	Korosko East Station
795			+				+		2	Korosko East Station
825				+			+		1	Korosko East Station
838			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
853			+				+		1	Korosko East Station
853			+			+			5	Korosko East Station
853			+			+			1	Korosko East Station
853		+					+		1	Korosko East Station
895			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
947	+					+			2	Korosko East Station
950			+			+			4	Es-Sahrigāt
950			+			+			4	Es-Sahrigāt
950	+					+			1	Es-Sahrigāt

Cat. No.	Deep Ham- mered Line	Shallow Ham- mered Line	Deep Incised Line	Shallow Incised Line	En-creux	Vertical Rock	Oblique Rock	Horizontal Rock	Number of Rock Drawings	Location
SYMBOLS AND SIGNS — UNIDENTIFIED										
31	+							+	4	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qibli
37	+							+	1	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qibli
38	+							+	1	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qibli
54			+					+	1	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qibli
58	+							+	7	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qibli
59	+							+	14	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qibli
60	+							+	5	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qibli
81	+					+			1	Nag' Kabūsh
143	+		+			+			1	Nag' es-Singāb
163		+				+			2	Nag' el-Fariq
164	+					+			1	Nag' el-Fariq
177	+					+			1	Nag' Birbet Dandūr
183	+					+			3	Nag' Birber Dandūr
194	+					+			1	Nag' el-Khulūs
207				+			+		1	Nag' el-Khulūs
220	+					+			2	Nag' el-Wādī el-Abyad
267			+					+	1	Nag' esh-Shīma
323	+					+			4	Nag' el-Dōm el-Dakar
384	+					+			2	Korosko East Station
397				+				+	1	Korosko East Station
437	+							+	1	Korosko East Station
438	+							+	1	Korosko East Station
438			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
438	+							+	1	Korosko East Station
447		+				+			1	Korosko East Station
455			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
465	+						+		1	Korosko East Station
480		+						+	1	Korosko East Station
480				+				+	1	Korosko East Station
482			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
484				+		+			1	Korosko East Station
492				+				+	1	Korosko East Station
540			+			+			1	Korosko East Station

Cat. No.	Deep Hammered Line	Shallow Hammered Line	Deep Incised Line	Shallow Incised Line	En-creux	Vertical Rock	Oblique Rock	Horizontal Rock	Number of Rock Drawings	Location
540		+				+			1	Korosko East Station
540				+			+		1	Korosko East Station
554				+				+	1	Korosko East Station
559			+				+		1	Korosko East Station
569			+				+		3	Korosko East Station
579	+					+			1	Korosko East Station
591	+					+			1	Korosko East Station
616			+				+		1	Korosko East Station
625			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
667			+			+			1	Korosko East Station
682		+					+		1	Korosko East Station
692			+					+	3	Korosko East Station
779			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
824		+					+		1	Korosko East Station
827		+						+	3	Korosko East Station
844	+						+		3(?)	Korosko East Station
850		+						+	2	Korosko East Station
852			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
853			+			+			5	Korosko East Station
853			+	+	+		+		2	Korosko East Station
853	+						+		1	Korosko East Station
880			+				+		2	Korosko East Station
883	+							+	1	Korosko East Station
894			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
895			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
906		+					+		1	Korosko East Station
916			+					+	1	Korosko East Station
918			+			+			1	Korosko East Station
947	+					+			2	Korosko East Station

- ¹ RLV, s. v. Kreuz.
- ² ALMGREN, Nordische Felszeichnungen als religiöse Urkunden, *passim*.
- ³ VAN BUREN, Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art, p. 110f.
- ⁴ HASTINGS, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, s. v. Cross.
- ⁵ BUDGE, Amulets and Superstitions, p. 342f.
- ⁶ VON OPPENHEIM, Die Beduinen. I—IV, *passim*.
- ⁷ SYROVÝ, Architektura, s. v. Kříž; BUDGE, Amulets and Superstitions, p. 337.
- ⁸ MORTILLET, Le Signe de la Croix avant le Christianisme, fig. 38 (the Etruscan cruciform motifs from Villanova).
- ⁹ GOFF, Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia, fig. 9, a. o.; VAN BUREN, Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art, p. 110f.
- ¹⁰ VATS, Harappá, pl. XCI, 255.
- ¹¹ BRUNTON, CATON-THOMPSON, The Badarian Civilization, pl. XII; QUIBELL, Ballas, pl. LIII; a. o.
- ¹² e. g. PETRIE, Royal Tombs. I, pl. LVIII.
- ¹³ e. g. QUIBELL, El-Kab, pl. XVIII.
- ¹⁴ PETRIE, Kahun, Gurob and Hawara, pls. XXVII, XXVIII.
- ¹⁵ id., Gerar, pl. XLIII, nos. 31—35; a. o.
- ¹⁶ FOŘTOVÁ-SÁMALOVÁ, VILÍMKOVÁ, Egyptian Ornament, pls. 31, 102, etc.
- ¹⁷ WOOLLEY, MACIVER, Karanòg. IV, pls. 81 (8449) and 92 (8723). Very important for the dating are also the secondary carvings of crosses on the Ptolemaic reliefs — see e. g. BLACKMAN, The Temple of Dendûr, pl. L.
- ¹⁸ BUDGE, Amulets and Superstitions, p. 342; GAUTHIER, Le Temple d'Amada, p. 192, fig. 41; FIRTH, The Archaeological Survey of Nubia. 1927, p. 112; a. o.
- ¹⁹ PETRIE, GARDINER, H. PETRIE, MURRAY, Tombs of Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos, pl. XLIX, pp. 20—26; WINKLER, Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt. I, p. 12 and II, pl. II, 1; DUNBAR, The Rock-Pictures of Lower Nubia, p. 8; a. o.
- ²⁰ FIELD, Camel Brands, p. 27, A. III.
- ²¹ op. cit., fig. 24f.; VON OPPENHEIM, Die Beduinen. I—IV, *passim*; ROSTEM, Rock Inscriptions in the Hijáz, figs. 3 and 7a; DALMAN, Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer, p. 25; id., Neue Petra-Forschungen und der Heilige Felsen von Jerusalem, p. 283, fig. 227; MACMICHAEL, A History of the Arabs in the Sudan, p. 71; a. o.
- ²² WINKLER, Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt. I, p. 11f. and II, p. 12f.; GOLÉNISCHEFF, Une excursion à Bérénice, pl. VII; a. o.
- ²³ PIOTROVSKI, Drevneegipetskie nadpisi v rayone sel. Dakka i Vadi Allaki, fig. 12, published rock drawings from Umm Agaib where there is, among others, an equilateral cross in a bigger group of tribal marks, being undoubtedly — as far as the meaning is concerned — one of them.
- ²⁴ MACMICHAEL, A History of the Arabs in the Sudan, pp. 127—128.
- ²⁵ See e. g. Webster's New International Dictionary of English Language: s. v. Cross.
- ²⁶ GOFF, Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia, figs. 63, 65, 66, a. o.
- ²⁷ PETRIE, Ancient Gaza. I, p. 10.
- ²⁸ op. cit., I, p. 9f., pl. XXX.
- ²⁹ id., Gerar, pl. LXIV, 47.
- ³⁰ FOŘTOVÁ-SÁMALOVÁ, VILÍMKOVÁ, Egyptian Ornament, pls. 33, 115, etc.
- ³¹ DUNHAM, A Collection of "Pot-Marks" from Kush and Nubia, Groups IV and IX.

- ³³ GAUTHIER, *Le Temple de Ouadi es-Sebouâ*. I, p. 176; id., *Le Temple de Kalabchah*. I, pp. 240 and 297, pls. LXXXIII and XCVII-A; MICHAŁOWSKI, *Faras* (1961), figs. 81—84; PETRIE, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. XXXVII B, fig. 9; id., *Objects of Daily Use*, pl. LXI, 203, 212, 226; MILEHAM, *Churches in Lower Nubia*, p. 53; FAKHRY, *The Necropolis of el-Bagawât in Kharga Oasis*, pls. XXXIV A and XXXVII A, B; CRUM, *Coptic Monuments*, passim; EDGERTON, *Medinet Habu Graffiti*, pl. 35, no. 102; a. o.
- ³⁴ SHINNIE, *Excavations at Soba*, fig. 24, 2; MICHAŁOWSKI, *Faras* (1961), p. 152f.; a. o.
- ³⁵ ALMAGRO BASCH, *Almagro Gorbea*, *Estudios de arte rupestre Nubio*, fig. 160.
- ³⁶ PETRIE, GARDINER, H. PETRIE, MURRAY, *The Tombs of Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos*, pp. 20—26, pl. XLIX, fig. 4; MURRAY, *The Osireion at Abydos*, pl. XXX; COTTEVIEILLE-GIRAUDET, *Médamoud*. II, pl. 119, no. 109; EDGERTON, *Medinet Habu Graffiti*, pl. 35, nos. 101, 102.
- ³⁷ GAUTHIER, *Le Temple de Kalabchah*. I, pl. XCVII A; FIRTH, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*. 1927, p. 113; EMERY, KIRWAN, *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul*. II, pl. 108; a. o.
- ³⁸ WINKLER, *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*. I, pp. 12—13; DUNBAR, *The Rock-Pictures of Lower Nubia*, p. 8, pl. XXIII, no. 148; GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Une excursion à Bérénice*, pl. VII, nos. 3, 38.
- ³⁹ In the location Umm Agaib there is a potent cross in the group of tribal marks and it is very likely to be one of them — see PIOTROVSKI, *Drevneegipetskie nadpisi v rayone sel. Dakka i Vadi Allaki*, fig. 12.
- ⁴⁰ MICHAŁOWSKI, *Faras* (1961—1962), fig. 89, published the stela of Bishop Aaron from the tenth century A. D. in the upper part of which there are depicted two potent crosses.
- ⁴¹ A similar cross was published among the graffiti from Sabagura by ROVERI, *I graffiti rupestri*, fig. 8, no. 101.
- ⁴² BUDGE, *Amulets and Superstitions*, p. 343; SYROVÝ, *Architektura: s. v. Kříž*; a. o.
- ⁴³ FIELD, *Camel Brands*, fig. 24f.
- ⁴⁴ loc. cit.
- ⁴⁵ loc. cit.
- ⁴⁶ We encounter an analogical rock drawing of the cross (though it be equilateral) on the right shoulder of which there is a short crooked incision among the finds from Sabagura — see ROVERI, *I graffiti rupestri*, fig. 8, no. 102; FIELD, *Camel Brands*, p. 4 and fig. 24, no. 15, published an analogical sign as the wasm of the Sbaa (Anaiza) tribe from Djebel Enaze.
- ⁴⁷ FIELD, *Camel Brands*, fig. 30, no. 558.
- ⁴⁸ ŽÁBA, *Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia* (manuscript), nos. 187 and 188.
- ⁴⁹ SYROVÝ, *Architektura: s. v. Kříž*.
- ⁵⁰ SHINNIE, CHITTICK, *Ghazali-A Monastery in the Northern Sudan*, fig. 40, no. 102; a similar rock drawing was discovered by the German expedition of Humboldt University near Saras (as conveyed by dr. G. Buschendorff-Otto).
- ⁵¹ WILSON, *The Swastika*; HASTINGS, *Encyklopaedia of Religion and Ethics: s. v. Cross* — 3. The gammate cross, or gammadion.
- ⁵² VAN BUREN, *Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art*, p. 120.
- ⁵³ GOFF, *Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia*, figs. 32, 33, 35, a. o. VAN BUREN, *Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art*, pp. 121—123; SOUDSKÝ, *Nejstarší zemědělské civilizace v Přední Asii*, p. 132, fig. 32d.
- ⁵⁴ RLV: s. v. Hakenkreuz.
- ⁵⁵ BUDGE, *Amulets and Superstitions*, p. 331.
- ⁵⁶ HASTINGS, *Encyklopaedia of Religion and Ethics: s. v. Cross* — 3. The gammate cross, or gammadion.
- ⁵⁷ RLV: s. v. Hakenkreuz.
- ⁵⁸ HULME, *Symbolism in Christian Art*, p. 219.
- ⁵⁹ BUDGE, *Amulets and Superstitions*, p. 331.
- ⁶⁰ PETRIE, MACKAY, *Heliopolis*, *Kafr Ammar and Shurafa*, p. 9, pl. XIV.
- ⁶¹ PETRIE, *The Making of Egypt*, pl. LX.
- ⁶² id., *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, pls. XXVII and XXVIII; id., *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pl. XV.
- ⁶³ FOŘTOVÁ-SÁMALOVÁ, VILÍMKOVÁ, *Egyptian Ornament*, p. 15, pl. 27, no. 88.
- ⁶⁴ op. cit., p. 15, pl. 24, nos. 75 and 76.

- ⁶⁴ GOLÉNISCHEFF, Une excursion à Bérénice, p. 92, pl. VII, nos. 10 and 33.
- ⁶⁵ WINKLER, Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt. I, pls. II, 2, III, 4 and VI, 2; id. *ibid.*, II, pl. IX, 2; FIELD, Camel Brands, p. 27, A/V.
- ⁶⁶ PETRIE, Objects of Daily Use, p. 70, no. 201.
- ⁶⁷ WINLOCK, CRUM, The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, p. 80, pl. XXIX, no. 12.
- ⁶⁸ FAKHRY, The Necropolis of el-Bagawât in Kharga Oasis, fig. 38.
- ⁶⁹ ROEDER, Debdob bis Bab Kalabsche. II, pl. 126.
- ⁷⁰ WOOLLEY, MACIVER, Karanòg (text), p. 49; id., *ibid.* (Plates), pl. 11.
- ⁷¹ SHAFIK FARID, Excavations at Ballana, fig. 69, 9; EMERY, KIRWAN, The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul. II, pls. 113, 56a and 115, 21 and 24; DUNHAM, A Collection of "Pot-Marks" from Kush and Nubia, Group IX.
- ⁷² SHINNIE, CHITTICK, Ghazali-A Monastery in Northern Sudan, fig. 37, no. 74.
- ⁷³ VAN BUREN, Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art, pp. 114—115; GOFF, Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia, pp. 77, 93 and 113.
- ⁷⁴ BUDGE, Amulets and Superstitions, p. 233, no. 4 and p. 431.
- ⁷⁵ GARDINER, Egyptian Grammar, Sign-list: s. v. N 14.
- ⁷⁶ PETRIE, Prehistoric Egypt Corpus, pl. XXXII, no. 24B; id., The Making of Egypt, pl. XXXI, no. 64 and pl. XXXII; QUIBELL, Ballas, pl. LIV.
- ⁷⁷ PETRIE, Royal Tombs. II, pl. LV.
- ⁷⁸ ENGELBACH, GUNN, Harageh, p. 11, pl. XII; REISNER, A History of the Giza Necropolis, fig. 18.
- ⁷⁹ BARSANTI, Fouilles de Zaouiét el-Aryân, p. 257f, graffito no. 50.
- ⁸⁰ COTTEVIEILLE-GIRAUDET, Médamoud. II, pl. X, no. 70.
- ⁸¹ PETRIE, Amulets, p. 51, pl. XLVI, no. 275a, b; REISNER, Amulets, pl. XXIV, no. 12474.
- ⁸² PETRIE, Kahun, Gurob and Hawara, pls. XXVII and XXVIII.
- ⁸³ id., Ancient Gaza. I, pp. 9—10, pl. XXX, no. 22.
- ⁸⁴ id., Gerar, pl. XLIII, no. 10.
- ⁸⁵ FOŘTOVÁ-SÁMALOVÁ, VILÍMKOVÁ, Egyptian Ornament, p. 17, pl. 37, nos. 126 and 128.
- ⁸⁶ BUDGE, Amulets and Superstitions, p. 209.
- ⁸⁷ WINLOCK, CRUM, The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, p. 80, fig. 33, nos. 7, 8.
- ⁸⁸ op. cit., p. 188, note 5.
- ⁸⁹ FAKHRY, The Necropolis of el-Bagawât in Kharga Oasis, pl. XXV, B.
- ⁹⁰ COTTEVIEILLE-GIRAUDET, Médamoud. II, pl. XIX, no. 110.
- ⁹¹ WINKLER, Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt. II, pp. 6, 8 and 13.
- ⁹² DUNBAR, The Rock-Pictures of Lower Nubia, pp. 8—9, pl. XXIII, fig. 159; id., Some Nubian Rock Pictures, p. 303, pl. XI, no. 18.
- ⁹³ op. cit., p. 303.
- ⁹⁴ DUNHAM, JANSSEN, Semna Kumma, fig. 1, no. 24-4-49b.
- ⁹⁵ DUNHAM, A Collection of "Pot-Marks" from Kush and Nubia, Group IX; EMERY, KIRWAN, The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul. II, pl. 115, nos. 15 and 22.
- ⁹⁶ JUNKER, Toshke, pl. XX, no. 307 and pl. XXIII, no. 388.
- ⁹⁷ MICHAŁOWSKI, Faras (1961—1962), pls. XXVIII, 3 and LV, 3; MILEHAM, Churches in Lower Nubia, p. 53; a. o.
- ⁹⁸ MICHAŁOWSKI, Faras (1961—1962), pp. 203—204, figs. 115—116.
- ⁹⁹ PIOTROVSKI, Drevneegipetskie nadpisi v rayone sel. Dakka i Vadi Allaki, inscription no. 3, p. 233, fig. 3.
- ¹⁰⁰ WINLOCK, CRUM, The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes. I, p. 188, note 5.
- ¹⁰¹ op. cit., p. 80, fig. 33, no. 7.
- ¹⁰² PETRIE, Ancient Gaza. I, pp. 9—10, pl. XXX, no. 22.
- ¹⁰³ FILIP, Enzyklopädisches Handbuch zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Europas: s. v. Spirale.
- ¹⁰⁴ WURZ, Spirale und Volute; KOHL-LARSEN, Die Bilderstrasse Ostafrikas, fig. 7, photo 53; GOFF, Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia, figs. 52, 133, 550, etc.; MARSHALL, Mohendjo-Daro, pl. CXXXIII, nos. 7 and 8; KUHN, Das Symbol an den Felsbildern Amerikas, p. 13; RLV: s. v. Spiralmuster; a. o.
- ¹⁰⁵ QUIBELL, Ballas, pl. XXXV, no. 67a, b, c; BRUNTON, CATON-THOMPSON, The Badarian Civilization, pls. XXXIX and XL; NAVILLE, The Cemeteries of Abydos. I, pl. V; PETRIE, The Making of Egypt, pls. XX and XXVII; id., Prehistoric Egypt Corpus, pls. XXXIII, XXXVI.
- ¹⁰⁶ PETRIE, QUIBELL, Naqada and Ballas, p. 40.

- ¹⁰⁷ PETRIE, WAINWRIGHT, MACKAY, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*, pl. XXX; a. o.
- ¹⁰⁸ PETRIE, *Amulets*, no. 96e, f, p. 25 and pls. XII and XLVII.
- ¹⁰⁹ REISNER, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia (1907—1908)*, p. 116 (predynastic grave no. 7 from Bahan).
- ¹¹⁰ RLV: s. v. *Spiralmuster* — C §3.
- ¹¹¹ PETRIE, *The Making of Egypt*, pl. LXVII; HALL, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs in the British Museum*; a. o.
- ¹¹² BLACKMAN, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*. III, pl. IX.
- ¹¹³ FOŘTOVÁ-ŠAMALOVÁ, VILÍMKOVÁ, *Egyptian Ornament*, pl. 41, etc.; THAUSSING, *Das Symbol der Spirale im alten Ägypten*, p. 244; a. o.
- ¹¹⁴ WINKLER, *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*. I, p. 32 and II, pp. 5 and 32 and pl. LX; id., *Völker und Völkerbewegungen im Vorgeschichtlichen Oberägypten im Lichte neuer Felsbilderfunde*, figs. 57—59.
- ¹¹⁵ RLV: s. v. *Spiralmuster* — C §3.
- ¹¹⁶ DUNBAR, *The Rock-Pictures of Lower Nubia*, p. 8, pl. XXIII; ALMAGRO BASCH, ALMAGRO GORBEA, *Estudios de arte rupestro nubio*, p. 102, fig. 78; HELLSTRÖM, LANGBALLE, *The Rock Drawings*. 1 : 2, X 103, pl. 157,6; HINTZE, *Preliminary Note on the Epigraphic Expedition to Sudanese Nubia (1963)*, p. 42, note 15, pl. IX, b.
- ¹¹⁷ WOOLLEY, MACIVER, *Karanòg*, IV, pl. 62.
- ¹¹⁸ MILEHAM, *Churches in Lower Nubia*, pls. 6 and 26.
- ¹¹⁹ ARKELL, *The Double Spiral Amulet*, pp. 151—155.
- ¹²⁰ GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodekaschoenus*, p. 17, pl. I, 1.
- ¹²¹ THAUSSING, *Das Symbol der Spirale im alten Ägypten*, pp. 246—247.
- ¹²² HELLSTRÖM, LANGBALLE, *The Rock Drawings*. 1 : 2, X 103 and pl. 157,6.
- ¹²³ DUNBAR, *The Rock-Pictures of Lower Nubia*, pl. XXIII, no. 152.
- ¹²⁴ Pyr 1196.
- ¹²⁵ Wb IV, 177—178; FAULKNER, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 234; a. o.
- ¹²⁶ QUIBELL, *El Kab*, pls. XIV and XIX (pottery from Dyn. XII).
- ¹²⁷ COTTEVIEILLE-GIRAUDET, *Médamoud*. II, pl. X, no. 77.
- ¹²⁸ DUNHAM, *A Collection of "Pot-Marks" from Kush and Nubia*, Group II.
- ¹²⁹ DUNBAR, *The Rock-Pictures of Lower Nubia*, p. 9, pl. XXIII, fig. 160; id., *Some Nubian Rock Pictures*, p. 305, pl. XI, no. 19.
- ¹³⁰ FIRTH, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia (1910—1911)*, p. 149, no. 225 and fig. 6, no. 225.
- ¹³¹ DUNBAR, *The Rock-Pictures of Lower Nubia*, p. 9, pl. XXIII, fig. 160; id., *Some Nubian Rock Pictures*, p. 305, pl. XI, no. 19.
- ¹³² Wb VI, 5 — Altar.
- ¹³³ JÉQUIER, *Matériaux pour servir à l'établissement d'un dictionnaire d'archéologie égyptienne*, p. 237.
- ¹³⁴ BONNET, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*: s. v. Altar.
- ¹³⁵ GOFF, *Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia*, fig. 191.
- ¹³⁶ DALMAN, *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer*, pp. 47 and 83; id., *Neue Petra-Forschungen und der Heilige Felsen von Jerusalem*, p. 49f.
- ¹³⁷ BONNET, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*: s. v. Altar.
- ¹³⁸ EDGAR, *Greek Bronzes*, pp. 46—48, pl. XV, nos. 27810—27814; PERDRIZET, *Les terres cuites grecques d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet*. I, pp. 118—119, no. 318; a. o.
- ¹³⁹ LEFEBVRE, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris*. III, pl. V, 1, 2.
- ¹⁴⁰ BRECCIA, *Teadelfia e il Tempio di Pniferôs*, p. LXV, no. 2.
- ¹⁴¹ PETRIE, *Roman Ehnasya*, p. 3, pl. LII, no. 162; id., *Roman Portraits and Memphis*. IV, pl. XV, nos. 6 and 7.
- ¹⁴² DRIOTON, *Objects de culte domestique provenant de Médinat-Qoûta*, p. 256f., pl. LXVII.
- ¹⁴³ WINKLER, *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*. I, p. 12f., pl. IV, 1, 2.
- ¹⁴⁴ ROEDER, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*. II, pl. 126.
- ¹⁴⁵ SHAFIK FARID, *Excavations of the Antiquities Department at Ballana*, p. 90, pl. III; id., *Excavations at Ballana*, p. 141, fig. 73.
- ¹⁴⁶ FIRTH, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia (1910—1911)*, fig. 5, opposite p. 125.
- ¹⁴⁷ RICKE, *Ausgrabungen von Khor Dehmit bis Bet el-Wali*, fig. 67, BK/35g.
- ¹⁴⁸ op. cit., pp. 30—31, fig. 43 (see also pl. 2).

- ¹⁴⁹ WOOLLEY, MACIVER, *Karanòg*. III, p. 56; id. *ibid.* IV, pl. 56.
- ¹⁵⁰ ŽABA, *Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia* (manuscript), no. 189.
- ¹⁵¹ *op. cit.*, no. 186.
- ¹⁵² AHMAD BEY KAMAL, *Tables d'offrandes*; BONNET, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*: s. v. *Opferplatte*.
- ¹⁵³ PETRIE, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. XIV; id., *Sedment*. I, pl. XIII, nos. 730, 286 and 1560; PEET, WOOLLEY, *The City of Akhenaten*. I, pls. XIV, 5 and XXIII, 3; a. o.
- ¹⁵⁴ JUNKER, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*, p. 18, §3.
- ¹⁵⁵ PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*. I, pl. LIII; id., *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, pls. XXVII and XXVIII; id., *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pl. XV; a. o.
- ¹⁵⁶ ČERNÝ, *Graffiti hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques de la nécropole thébaine*, nos. 1222, 1223 and 1229.
- ¹⁵⁷ PETRIE, *Amulets*, p. 20, pl. V, no. 68a—c; REISNER, *Amulets*, pl. XIX, nos. 12254—8; BUDGE, *Amulets and Superstitions*, pp. 150 and 173.
- ¹⁵⁸ GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Une excursion à Bérénice*, pl. VII, nos 45 and 58(?).
- ¹⁵⁹ WINKLER, *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*. I, pp. 12—13.
- ¹⁶⁰ MICHAŁOWSKI, *Faras* (1961), figs. 19 and 23; GRIFFITH, *Meroitic Inscriptions*, pls. XLIV, 130, 133 and XLVI, 134—7; JUNKER, *Ermenne*, pl. XII, 145; CURTO, MARAGIOGLIO, RINALDI, BONGRANI, *Kalabsha*, pl. XII, b; DUNHAM, *A Collection of "Pot-marks" from Kush and Nubia, Group VII*; EMERY, KIRWAN, *The Excavations and Survey between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindam* (1929—1931). II, pls. 27 and 29.
- ¹⁶¹ DUNBAR, *The Rock-Pictures of Lower Nubia*, pls. III, 9 and XII, 56; ROEDER, *Der Tempel von Dakke*. II, pls. 16 and 32; id., *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*. II, pl. 115, t (in this picture a rock drawing of an offering table was secondarily engraved around a female lap!; RICKE, *Ausgrabungen von Khor Dehmit bis Bet el-Wali*, pp. 14, 20 and 21, figs. 24, 26 and 30, pls. 7, 10 and 15; a. o.
- ¹⁶² ŽABA, *Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia* (manuscript), no. 170.
- ¹⁶³ *op. cit.*, nos. 204—206.
- ¹⁶⁴ WINLOCK, CRUM, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*. I, p. 81; MICHAŁOWSKI, *Faras* (1961—1962), p. 181f.; BUDGE, *Amulets and Superstitions*, p. 374; a. o.
- ¹⁶⁵ GAUTHIER, *Le Temple d'Amada*, p. 194, 1°.
- ¹⁶⁶ *op. cit.*, p. 192, fig. 40.
- ¹⁶⁷ ROVERI, *I graffiti rupestri*, fig. 8, no. 90 and p. 128.
- ¹⁶⁸ SHINNIE, CHITTICK, *Ghazali-A Monastery in the Northern Sudan*, fig. 39, no. 99 (a partially damaged graffito on pottery) and fig. 42, no. 122.
- ¹⁶⁹ FIELD, *Camel Brands*, p. 27, A/XII.
- ¹⁷⁰ *op. cit.*, p. 27, C/I.
- ¹⁷¹ GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Une excursion à Bérénice*, pl. VII, 30.
- ¹⁷² WINLOCK, CRUM, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*. I, p. 188.
- ¹⁷³ FIELD, *Camel Brands*, p. 27, A/II and A/VII.
- ¹⁷⁴ *op. cit.*, p. 27, C/I.
- ¹⁷⁵ RLV: s. v. *Doppelaxt*.
- ¹⁷⁶ ASSELBERGHS, *Chaos en Beheersing*, pl. LXV, fig. 122.
- ¹⁷⁷ PETRIE, *The Making of Egypt*, pls. VII and XIII; id., *Royal Tombs*. II, pl. XXV, 11; PETRIE, GARDINER, H. PETRIE, MURRAY, *Tombs of Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos*, pl. XXVIII; a. o.
- ¹⁷⁸ PETRIE, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, pls. XXVII—XXVIII; id., *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pl. XV; QUIBELL, *El Kab*, pl. XVI.
- ¹⁷⁹ RLV: s. v. *Doppelaxt*.
- ¹⁸⁰ VILA, *Aksha*. II, p. 150, fig. 125.
- ¹⁸¹ CURTO, *Esplorazione archeologica nella regione di Dehmit*, p. 263, pl. LX, 5.
- ¹⁸² MICHAŁOWSKI, *Faras* (1961—1962), pl. XXVIII, 4; FAKHRY, *The Necropolis of el-Bagawāt in Kharga Oasis*, pl. XXXVII, A, B; CONTENSON, *Aksha*. I, pl. VI, 11 and p. 111; Tamit (1964). *Missione archeologica in Egitto dell'Università di Roma*, fig. 25, no. 3; a. o.
- ¹⁸³ WEEKS, *The Classic Christian Townsite at Armina West*, fig. 46.
- ¹⁸⁴ FAKHRY, *Bahria Oasis*. II, p. 69f.
- ¹⁸⁵ id., *Recent Explorations in the Oasis of the Western Desert*, pp. 85—87, figs. 16—17.
- ¹⁸⁶ WINKLER, *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*. I, pl. XXX, 2; id. *ibid.* II, pl. II, 1; FIELD, *Camel Brands*, p. 27, A/XV (?).

- 187 FAKHRY, Recent Explorations in the Oasis of the Western Desert, pp. 85—86, figs. 16—17.
- 188 BUDGE, Amulets and Superstitions, p. 45f.; Fielder, Arabské skalní nápisy a kresby v Núbii (manuscript), p. 7f.
- 189 FIELD, Camel Brands, p. 27, A/VIII.
- 190 op. cit., p. 27, A/XI.
- 191 op. cit., p. 27, C/II—III.
- 192 SHINNIE, CHITTICK, Ghazali-A Monastery in the Northern Sudan, pl. XXVIII.
- 193 EDGERTON, Medinet Habu Graffiti, pl. 103, no. 409.
- 194 FIELD, Camel Brands, p. 26.
- 195 op. cit., p. 27, A/I, 2.
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- 197 op. cit., p. 27, A/VIII.
- 198 op. cit., p. 27, A/IV.
- 199 op. cit., p. 27, A/VII.
- 200 DUNBAR, The Rock-Pictures of Lower Nubia, pl. XXV, no. 176; FIELD, Camel Brands, p. 27, C/I.
- 201 op. cit., p. 26.
- 202 loc. cit.
- 203 FAKHRY, Recent Explorations in the Oasis of the Western Desert, pp. 85—87, figs. 16—17.
- 204 HELLSTRÖM, LANGBALLE, The Rock Drawings. 1 : 2, W 18; DUNBAR, The Rock-Pictures of Lower Nubia, pp. 6 and 54 and pl. XXV, 166.
- 205 FIEDLER, Arabské skalní nápisy a kresby v Núbii (manuscript), p. 9.
- 206 MACMICHAEL, A History of the Arabs in the Sudan, p. 334.
- 207 FAKHRY, Recent Explorations in the Oasis of the Western Desert, pp. 85—87, figs. 16—17.
- 208 DAVIES, Some Arab Games and Puzzles, pp. 137—152.
- 209 FIELD, Camel Brands, p. 27, C/II.
- 210 DUNHAM, A Collection of "Pot-Marks" from Kush and Nubia, Group IV.
- 211 WINKLER, Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt. I, pp. 12—13.
- 212 FIELD, Camel Brands, p. 27, A/I, 2.
- 213 ALMAGRO BASCH, ALMAGRO GORBEA, Estudios de arte rupestre nubio, fig. 202; DUNBAR, The Rock-Pictures of Lower Nubia, pl. XXV, 180.

ROCK DRAWINGS

OF EROTICA

FROM CZECHOSLOVAK CONCESSIONS

IN NUBIA

III.

INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapters, dealing with separate, thematically well-defined groups of rock drawings from Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia, we always tended to start with a brief survey of the comparative material from Egypt, i. e. the country which has exerted since the antiquity a dominant cultural influence notably in Lower Nubia from where our set of finds comes. Having done that, we examined the local, i. e. Nubian situation. It is our desire to adhere to this model as much as possible even in the section dealing with rock drawings of erotica from Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia. We find it very difficult, however, to present at least a brief outline of the sexual behaviour of ancient Egyptians. As a matter of fact, there exist no authoritative accounts of the separate problems involved, nor has this topic ever been treated in a complex manner. The relationship of the ancient inhabitants of the Nile Valley to eroticism (which is often considered a primal force in African society, the latter being sometimes even said to be characterized by a "vision of sex"¹) was undoubtedly very complicated, being conditioned by the environment, and having gone through a diverse and dynamic development. We could, of course, analyze it from a number of viewpoints, e. g. the historical, ethnographical, sexuologico-psychological, etc. This would be, however, not only quite beyond our possibilities but would also misrepresent the main purpose of this work.

The literature on Egypt often gives the impression that there exists a lack of primary sources pertaining to the study of sexual conduct of Ancient Egyptians and that the original texts and representations are very discreet². It may be more exact to say the opposite because the ancient Egyptian remains of material culture, the arts, religion, polite literature, poetry, medicine and, in fact, even the hieroglyphic writing provide us with a plenty of materials facilitating the above mentioned study. It is quite possible that we encounter at this point a misunderstanding of the terminological or semantic nature, i. e. the need to differentiate between sexuality and obscenity, eroticism and pornography. We can hardly regard as obscene, for example, the prehistoric statuettes of nude women, frequently steatopygous with emphasized sexual organs³; they give evidence of the complicated spiritual world of the primitive society and its conceptions of the mysterious forces of the nature pertaining to fertility and reproduction. It is no accident that the oldest known sculpture of the ancient Egyptian anthropomorphic deity are the colossal statues of the god Min found at Koptos and coming from the Predynastic Period⁴. It was this ithyphallic god who used to personify for ancient Egyptians the forces of fertility, the mysterious reproductive abilities multiplying not only human populations but herds of cattle as well, increasing the yields of crops, and being simply the guarantee of general and everlasting prosperity⁵. It is no obscenity but an obvious naturalistic quintessence of the above-mentioned conception that underlies the enormous erected phallus of this god

which the Egyptians later on buoyantly called *nfrw. f.*, "his (i. e. Min's) beauty"⁸. Similar priapic, ithyphallic statues are known from other parts of the world, being regarded as typical for primitive societies even though phallism, of which the representations are a concrete expression, presupposes a relatively advanced degree of abstract thought⁷.

The sources on the sexual life of ancient Egyptians started to increase with the beginning of the historic times, with the appearance of written documents and greater occurrence of material remains. In spite of that, in a few older works, we may come upon opinions which do not share this view (then we have to take into consideration the possibility whether there did not occur an *a priori* narrowing of the way in which the sexual behaviour of ancient Egyptians was viewed, for example by selection and analysis of a specific kind of source material). By analysing, for example, the reliefs from the older phase of the historical period, from the Old Kingdom, we come to the conclusion that the tender relationship between the man and the woman was only indicated: the people depicted on the reliefs behave gently and reticently, eroticism seems to be totally excluded from the wall representations in the tombs, and the scenes of engendering were left by the ancient Egyptian artists to animals only⁸. (Let us add at this point, however, that on the same reliefs there appear people in the nude, looking informal and natural; even though only some of the people are naked and the situations in which they appear are specific, there is no indication of obscenity in those scenes.) The view of life in ancient Egyptian society as presented by the scenes on tomb walls is by no means all-embracing and objective, however. It idealizes the reality to a great extent, being modified by the purposes which it was to serve according to ancient Egyptians' conceptions about the life after death. Even in the case of those vestiges we have to take into consideration both the fact that new discoveries will supplement our knowledge and the probability that the present interpretation of well-known vestiges will be in a number of cases revised. As an example illustrating the latter let us mention Capart's analysis of a fragment from the British Museum⁹, on which there are scenes in three registers: in the top one there is a ship-building scene, in the bottom one a fishing and agricultural scene, and in the middle one there are shown some children games. Capart¹⁰ interprets the middle register, however, as a circumcision episode¹¹, an initiation ceremony and joyous celebration of arrival of manhood of the son and heir of the owner of the tomb. A similar revision could be applied to a number of vestiges coming not only from the Old Kingdom but the later periods as well. Let us note that in the course of time Egypt's relations with its African neighbours, with the Near East, and even the more remote south-eastern Europe began to increase and this process undoubtedly affected the life of ancient Egyptian society including, as the last but not the least, its erotic aspect. We are going to touch upon this aspect several times when evaluating the rock drawings of erotica from Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia even though our context prevents us from going into details.

The most numerous group among the Czechoslovak finds of rock drawings of erotica in Nubia includes representations of the femal sexual organ. With the exception of a few specific cases (see the note in Cat. Nos. 732 and 748), the representations have the shape of a triangle standing on the top, i. e. upside down. In the middle of the triangle there usually is a shorter or longer line leading downward to the top of the triangle. In several cases there are two or three horizontal lines above the base-line of the triangle indicating undoubtedly the folds of skin on the female stomach.

The triangle has been a common even though not the only symbol of the female sexual organ since the ancient times throughout the world¹², including Egypt where we find it in various representations of nude women, sculpture, wall paintings, etc, some of which will be treated here in greater detail. We have to state in the first place, however, that the vulva used to serve also as a hieroglyphic sign¹³. Gardiner suggests that the sign originally represented a well full of water and was used only secondarily as a substitute for the female sexual organ; to support his hypothesis he presents an ideogram of joined male and female sexual organs from a sculpture at Abu Gurab, from the Old Kingdom, in which the vulva has triangular shape¹⁴. Sethe published the same ideogram in the Pyramid Texts¹⁵, where it has the function of the determinative

in the word *nk* — “to copulate”; in this case, however, the shape of the vulva is not triangular but rounded — if, of course, Sethe’s autography is in the given case quite exact. Two ancient Egyptian names are known to have been used for the vulva, namely *hmt* and, since the Greek Period, also *lt*¹⁶.

The source material which we have had at our disposal indicates that it was not originally common in Egypt to depict only female or male sexual organs, be it in an erotic or magic context; we could, of course, give as an example triangular pottery marks from various periods of Egyptian history which are, however, very likely not to have been erotic symbols. This situation changed with Egypt’s opening its door to foreign impulses and currents of thought, especially to those which came from the Hellenic and later the Hellenistic world. Therefore, while looking for the original ancient Egyptian comparative material for evaluating the above mentioned group of our finds of erotic rock drawings we have to take into account also other categories of remains. Into one of those categories belong statuettes of naked women called usually “dolls” and sometimes “concubines”. The statuettes are most often made of baked clay and are sometimes so much stylized that they are formed merely by an oblong tablet with naturalistic representations of sexual organs; there are often present among them the “most simplified” examples, namely, sculpture in

the shape of a vulva. Several authors, especially Bruyère¹⁷, Hornblower¹⁸, Morenz¹⁹, and Keimer²⁰ have studied in some detail the genuine meaning of those statuettes, their relation to a maternity and fertility cult, as well as their position in an after-death cult. As we have already mentioned, one of the important comparative aids facilitating our work is the very representation of vulva which on those statuettes has most frequently the shape of a triangle turned upside down, with a short vertical incision which ends at the top of the triangle. Some of the types have got above the base-line of the triangle a horizontal series of punctures²¹ and there are also cases in which the entire triangle is made of a dense network of punctures²². It is very likely that the punctures indicate tatooing rather than hairs as documented by the finds of some female mummies²³. Apart from the most common symbol, i. e. the triangle, representations of female sexual organs may have the shape of a circle, semicircle, oval, etc.²⁴ Statuettes of naked women are known not only from Egypt but Nubia as well. Thus, for example, during excavations at Uronarti there was discovered a group of those statuettes from the Middle Kingdom with emphasized vulvae²⁵; the vulvae are indicated by triangles which are sometimes filled up with punctures but they do not have a vertical incision going downward.

Quite an independent group among the statuettes is evidently formed by the bizzare sculptures consisting of flat tablets and dated most frequently to the Middle Kingdom or the beginning of the New Kingdom. They lack legs and instead of arms they have only two stumps; the head is also only indicated even though it is decorated with a rich wig of beads strung on a thread. The bottom part of the sculpture is rounded and there is always present a triangle representing a vulva. The upper and

middle parts are frequently decorated with various geometric and figural motifs and sometimes they are indicated by two small circles and breasts²⁶. Keimer²⁷ has tried to determine their meaning and arrived at the conclusion that they are "idols" which originated by simplifying the statuettes from another, very unique group of the so-called legless naked women (the bottom parts of legs from knees downward miss) which are strongly tatooed. The simplified idols are said to have been used, according to Keimer, by the propertyless strata of population. Keimer's interpretation of the genesis of the bizarre idols is certainly interesting but the real meaning of the statuettes is probably more complicated. They strike us at first sight by their shape which is clearly identical with that of the penis. We thus come upon another interpretation of the statuettes, namely, the possibility to view them as visual symbolic synthesis of the male and female sexual organs; this accentuates their magic aspect and probably also their connection with a fertility cult. This hypothesis may be supported by occasional representations of the Goddess Tweret on those idols.²⁸

Another set of ancient Egyptian vestiges, which represents a useful comparative material for our work, are the so-called obscene ostraca from the New Kingdom²⁹. We are not going to deal here either with the "looser" morals of that period, the changing forms of artistic expression, etc. or their historic and social background³⁰. Let us limit our discussion to stating that even on those ostraca there are female sexual organs depicted by means of a triangle turned upside down. We encounter something similar on a papyrus from Dyn. XX kept at the Egyptian Museum in Turin³¹, on wall paintings of women in tombs, etc.

The increased political, economic and especially cultural contacts of Egypt

with the Hellenic world in the Late Period, and the Greek and Roman Periods, in particular, affected a great deal also the sexual behaviour of the ancient Egyptians. Later on, the Hellenistic world, in which there met and mixed various currents of thought from Asia, Africa and Europe, became very favourable not only for an all-round development of eroticism but an application of a variety of superstitions, eccentricities, and deviations as well. This bustle affected Egypt, too, finding there in many respects a fertile ground in various religious ceremonies and feasts, cults of fertility deities, etc. The attitude toward sex and eroticism began to gradually change with the establishment of Christianity in Egypt. Our study is concerned neither with an evaluation of the sexual life of the Greeks and Romans³² nor the mutual interrelations between the Egyptian and Graeco-Roman attitudes toward sex³³. Therefore, we are going to focus only on those new aspects of the numerous problems involved that can be of greater importance for an evaluation of the erotic rock drawings from Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia. Among such aspects belongs, for example, the frequent occurrence in the Greek environment of ex-votis and amulets, painted or sculptured, in the shape of male and female sexual organs, which were ascribed an extraordinary magic power. As to their shape, the Greek representations of vulvae do not basically differ from the Egyptian ones (triangular shape). As far as the representations of the penis are concerned, however, the difference is more noticeable. The Greeks frequently used amulets in the shape of the vulva against badweather, sea storms, etc. To magical purposes served also female urine, menstruation blood, and mother's milk³⁴. Those conceptions are likely to have penetrated along with the Greeks into other areas, including Egypt. Even more widely spread were,

however, amulets in the shape of the male sexual organ. The penis was considered by the Greeks not only a powerful protection against bewitchment but also a means encouraging well-being and prosperity; it was, therefore, hung in front of artisan's shops, buried in fields and gardens, fastened under carts, etc.³⁵ For this reason we are not surprised to find out that even the Hellenistic Egypt provides us with many documents pertaining to the occurrence of this phallic amulet called τὸ προβάσκα-γίον.³⁶

Of special significance for our purposes is the comparative material consisting of rock drawings of vulvae documented both from Egypt and Nubia. Winkler³⁷ discovered rock drawings of vulvae in a number of locations in southern Upper Egypt, amidst various rock drawings, but very frequently close to rock drawings of foot and sandal prints. He is therefore of the opinion that the authors of both the kinds of rock drawings were identical people, dates the drawings to the Dynastic Period, and considers the rock drawings of vulvae an expression of the separation of men from women³⁸. Winkler's conclusion about the time relation between the rock drawings of foot and sandal prints and vulvae is very interesting and it is supported also by Czechoslovak finds from Nubia. We can hardly agree, however, with his dating (see Part I of this work) and, to some extent, also with the univocal meaning he ascribes to them. The rock drawings of vulvae discovered by Winkler have the shape of a triangle turned upside down and divided in the middle by a long vertical incision; on one vulva there are remnants of unidentified drawings, indicating probably former tattooing.³⁹ Rock drawings of vulvae of a similar shape were found also by Winlock⁴⁰ in the Dakhla Oasis, near engravings of giraffes, antelopes and ibexes; he regards them as prehistoric

pictographs. There are documents of rock drawings of vulvae coming from Nubia, too. Let us mention, for example, the rock drawing of a vulva from the location Umm Agaib⁴¹ or the very interesting and so far unpublished find of a secondary carving of a vulva flanked by penes on both sides and discovered on a wall of the Temple of Mussawarat⁴². Another remarkable discovery of a rock drawing of a vulva was made at the desert road at the quarries of Qertassi⁴³. It is a rock drawing of a vulva of a somewhat less usual shape around which there was later engraved an offering table so as to emphasize the votive character of the drawing. The more recent date of origin of the table is proved by the fact that its right side is superimposed on another rock drawing of a vulva which has the same shape as that in the middle of the offering table. As far as the finds of rock drawings of vulvae (?) from Scandinavian concessions in Nubia are concerned⁴⁴ we suggest that they represent no vulvae but pairs of foot or sandal prints.

*

More than two dozen rock drawings of vulvae were found on Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia. Their shape is, with a few exceptions, that of a triangle even though individual rock drawings differ one from another in details. Also the situation of the finds is in many cases very interesting and facilitates the formulation of some more general conclusions concerning the dating and meaning of those rock drawings.

Notes:

Cat. No. 31: The rock drawing of a vulva is located in immediate vicinity of rock drawings from the Christian and Arabic Periods; its borders are, however, more weathered, the incision shallower, and its patina darker than those of the adjoining drawings.

Cat. No. 71: The carving of a vulva is situated in the middle of a large group of rock drawings among which there are also two of the so-called "symbolical" coitions (represented by joined male and female sexual organs alone). With regard to its shape and position on the rock the vulva does not seem to come from too different a period than the drawings of "symbolical" coitions dated to the Roman Period.

Cat. No. 207: Just above a rock drawing of a horned altar there are remnants of another rock drawing. What is important is the fact that among the horns of the altar there thus appeared a triangle into which someone later on made a vertical incision, changing the upper part of the altar into a vulva. It is likely that the incision has the same author as the Greek name inscribed on the rock on the right side of the horns of the altar.

Cat. No. 273: Both the rock drawings cannot be univocally regarded as vulvae, however simplified. They may be simplified pictures of triangular shape and this alternative is supported even by their mutual position.

Cat. No. 402: The group of five rock drawings of vulvae is situated to the right from a rock drawing of a boat with passengers. The vulvae are placed one next to the other, differing a bit, and they seem to have been created in at least three stages: the oldest one is probably the vulva on the extreme left which is in fact the product of a whim: an original little pit in the rock was later embraced by a carving of a triangle. Somewhat younger are the two couples of vulvae more to the right. It is difficult to determine the dating of the two couples even though it is probable the entire set of five rock drawings of vulvae comes approximately from the same period. It is significant to note that on the whole rock there is only the group of vulvae, in its close vicinity being nothing else but a rock drawing

of a boat with passengers⁴⁶ dated preliminarily to the Dynastic Period⁴⁶. As we have already mentioned, in the Graeco-Roman Period amulets in the shape of the vulva served, among other things, the purpose of ensuring a happy journey or guarding against storms. In our case the situation as depicted on the rock corresponds very well to the conception under discussion. The vulvae are thus very likely to have been engraved on the rock in succession during the Graeco-Roman Period next to the older rock drawing of a boat.

Cat. No. 483: For some types of the more numerous group of rock drawings of vulvae there are characteristic horizontal lines (two or three) above the upper border of the vulva. The horizontal lines indicated nothing but folds of skin on the female stomach, however.

Cat. No. 732: The shape of this vulva differs basically from other rock drawings of the kind on our concessions in Nubia. The origin of the drawing may be attributed to a whim which made use of the existing unevenness of the terrain (cf. *Cat. No. 402*), in the given case a long and deep crack in the rock around which there were additionally carved crooked lines representing in a naturalistic manner the outer labia of the vulva.

Cat. No. 748: To a certain degree we encounter here a situation which is analogical to that in *Cat. No. 732*. This time, however, two original rock drawings of sandals were later supplemented with horizontal incisions which changed the two sandals into vulvae.

Side No.: The rock drawing of a vulva was discovered by Professor Žába near Tafa during Czechoslovak excavations in the location. The vulva is in immediate vicinity of a rock drawing of a "symbolical" coition and the author of both the drawings is evidently one person. He may have been inspired

by the Goddess Baubo depicted in relief on the same rock a little higher than the vulva. With regard to the circumstances, including the place of discovery, i. e. Tafa, we can date the engraving to the Roman Period.

The meaning of the rock drawings of vulvae does not have to be in all cases necessarily the same. For example, the situation in *Cat. No. 402* seems to indicate that some of the rock drawings may have had a votive and protectively-magical significance, which corresponds to the Greek and Roman idea that a representation of the vulva is a powerful amulet against bad weather, for a happy journey, etc. The authors of the drawings may thus have been Greeks or Romans who passed through Nubia, no matter what their mission was like. This does not mean, however, that in some cases we cannot apply Winkler's interpretation, namely, the viewing of the rock drawings of vulvae as the work of men who lived a long time separated from women. A carving of a vulva in such cases cannot certainly be considered a document of obscenity. On the contrary, it represents a meaningful symbol which is likely to have had a sympathetic and magic background: by means of the symbol of femininity the man wanted to reserve for himself something he missed, i. e. a woman. In theory we could consider a few other alternatives in the meaning of the rock drawings, especially their possible relation to a fertility cult, to maternity, etc. Such an alternative has not, however, been so far supported by either the comparative material we have at our disposal or the concrete situation as we encounter in individual rock drawings of vulvae⁴⁷.

The dating of the rock drawings of vulvae from Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia falls roughly to the Graeco-Roman or Romano-Nubian Periods. Most of them are likely, however, to come from the Roman Period.

Shape variants:

*Cat. Nos. 31,
402, 482, 950:*



*Cat. Nos. 384,
480, 482, 483:*



Cat. No. 71:



Cat. No. 81:



Cat. No. 402:



Cat. No. 402:



Cat. No. 483:



Cat. No. 402:



Cat. No. 482:



Cat. No. 483:



Cat. No. 483:



Cat. No. 578:



Cat. No. 732:



*Cat. Nos. 273,
482, 483:*



Sine No.:



Cat. No. 748:



Cat. No. 207:



In the preceding chapter devoted to rock drawings of vulvae we already touched on the Egyptian hieroglyphic sign formed by joined female and male sexual organs;⁴⁸ it was the ideogram standing for the "coitus" and the like. The same kind of ideogram with the vulva of triangular shape is documented by Gardiner from a sculpture found at Abu Gurab and dated to the Old Kingdom.⁴⁹ There is no point in discussing the principle and interpretation of this representation expressing quite univocally the idea of coitus. As to the Czechoslovak finds of rock drawings of "symbolical" coitions we are concerned with other circumstances, especially the period in which they were carved into Nubian rocks and the purpose they served. When considering the probable date of origin of those drawings, we have to take into account not only the concrete situation of the finds (their location on the rock, relation to other rock drawings, the technique of execution, patina, etc.) but also their shape. Thus, for example, the shape of the penis as depicted in those drawings strikes us as unusual in comparison to the common way of depicting in the ancient Egypt. As a matter of fact, the Egyptians used to depict the penis alone (and not a male body) as viewed from the side and without the hair. Contrary to that, however, in our rock drawings of "symbolical" coitions (especially in those elaborated in greater detail) the penis is depicted more often as viewed from the front or from above, the

testicles are on both sides of the penis and the hair is quite clearly indicated. Also the head of the penis is distinctly wider (the analogical shape of the penis can be found in the Nubian carvings of the God Bes from the Graeco-Roman Period discovered on a rock between Kalabsha and Beit el-Wali⁵⁰). This way of representing the penis still existed in Egypt in the Coptic Period.⁵¹ As a remarkable document of the above mentioned way of depicting the penis can be regarded the set of drawings on the ivory inlaying the wooden box discovered by Emery during excavations of the cemetery at Ballana and Qustul.⁵² The box comes from the X-Group Period and the shape of the male sexual organs depicted there is almost identical with the penis in our rock drawings Cat. No. 81. As indicated in the preceding chapter, another criterion for dating the rock drawings can be the shape of the vulvae. Analogical engravings of "symbolical" coitions, one on a rock and the other on a piece of pottery, was discovered by an Austrian expedition at Sayala, in the area of a wine-tavern coming from the Roman Period. Kromer connects the carving with the free and loose atmosphere of the place at which they were found.⁵³

Notes:

Cat. No. 81: On a vertical rock there are, apart from animals and a Christian chapel, rock drawings of two "symbolical" coitions and one vulva. It is clear

from the position of the drawings on the rock that the "symbolical" coitions are younger than the giraffes and older than the Christian chapel. Even though the rock drawings of "symbolical" coitions are not likely to be too far apart as to their date of origin, the drawing in the middle of the row of animals seems to be older than that which is isolated, being situated below the continuous line of petroglyphs. As a matter of fact, there even exists a difference in the shape of the two rock drawings, although the principal way of representation is identical. In both cases the penis is situated to the right from the vulva, but it touches it; the testicles are depicted on both sides of the penis and the head of the penis is clearly wider. The "symbolical" coition which is situated below the line of petroglyphs features well-indicated hair at both the vulva and penis. With regard to all these facts we can date both rock drawings with a high degree of probability to the late Roman Period.

Cat. No. 266: The rock drawing of a "symbolical" coition is greatly simplified, the vulva is indicated in a narrow shallow line by a simple triangle, and the penis by a curved line only. The penis aims at the centre of the triangle and not at its top, as it is in other cases.

Cat. No. 949: This is undoubtedly the most unusual rock drawing of a "symbolical" coition found on Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia. The line of the drawing consists of drilled pits all of which have approximately the same size and depth. Only the testicles are indicated by much larger and deeper pits. The latter may provide the key to explaining the bizarre drawing: it is possible that the author was inspired by two pits in the rock lying one next to the other, he may have adjusted them, adding a penis and a vulva and using the same technique, namely, drilled pits. Even in this rock drawing we find

the penis on the right side of the vulva touching it with its head.

Sine No.: The rock drawing of a "symbolical" coition was discovered by Professor Žába near Tafa during Czechoslovak excavations in the area. Next to it there is a rock drawing of a vulva (created evidently by the same author) and a bit higher on the same rock we see a representation in relief of the Goddess Baubo. The rock drawing of a "symbolical" coition exhibits a striking similarity to the same rock drawing in *Cat. No. 81* (the one which is aside the row of drawings); the only noticeable difference lies in the fact that in the rock drawing from Tafa both testicles are depicted one next to the other and below the penis. With regard to the general situation of the find as well as its shape analysis we can date the rock drawing with a high degree of probability to the Roman Period.

The **meaning** of the rock drawings with "symbolical" coitions is probably very simple: the authors used rocks to express by means of ideographs the instinctive need that preoccupied their minds as a result of their long separation from women. The drawings may have even had a sympathetic and magic background and were to provide the authors with something they lacked, namely, sexual intercourse. The fact that their sexual desire was expressed by means of the "ideogram" of sexual intercourse is quite in accordance with Egyptian thought, however modified by the specific atmosphere of the Hellenistic world (or the other way round).

The **dating** of the rock drawings of "symbolical" coitions from Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia is roughly delimited by the Graeco-Roman or Romano-Nubian Periods. The drawings *Cat. No. 81* and *Sine No.* from Tafa are very likely to come from the Roman Period.

Shape Variants:

Cat. No. 81:



Cat. No. 81:



Cat. No. 266:



Cat. No. 949:



Sine No.:



A single rock drawing of a sexual intercourse between a man and a woman was found in the location of Nag^cMar-sâb. The man lies on his back and the woman sits above him in a reverse riding position. The man holds with both hands his erected penis which the woman at the same time inserts into her vulva with her left hand. Very characteristic is the shape of the bodies of both the figures and so is the technique in which the drawing is executed. The shape of their bodies is considerably simplified, indicated by contour lines only. The heads are en creux, and the limbs, especially the arms, are thin like a thread. The patina of the drawing is relatively light. The intercourse is depicted above a group of four hunting dogs executed in the same technique and having the same kind of patina. All around there are other drawings of animals and human beings.

Rock drawings representing sexual intercourse appear in Africa quite frequently.⁵⁴ Winkler has published several of them coming from southern Upper Egypt⁵⁵ as well as the Eastern Desert. Thus, for example, from the Eastern Desert, from the area of Wadi Menih,

there comes a rock drawing of a standing couple engaged in copulation; they face one another and there is a donkey standing next to them (an erotic symbol?). Winkler ascribed the drawing to the so-called "Federschmuck-Leute".⁵⁶ To this category of Winkler's are very close the typologically well-defined figures of the copulating couple of ours. Quite important is also the representation of the hunting dogs — a scene so often accompanying the above-mentioned "Federschmuck-Leute". Winkler dates the beginning of the "Federschmuck-Leute" to the end of Nagada II.⁵⁷

The **meaning** of our rock drawing of sexual intercourse, which is very likely to form one integral part of the scene with the hunting dogs, may be shifted to the sphere of hunting magic.

The **dating** would, according to Winkler's date for the "Federschmuck-Leute", fall to the end of Nagada II?

Cat. No. 103:



**A SURVEY
OF BASIC DATA**

4

Cat. No.	Deep Ham- mered Line	Shallow Ham- mered Line	Deep Incised Line	Shallow Incised Line	Drilled Pits Line	Vertical Rock	Oblique Rock	Horizontal Rock	Number of Rock Drawings	Location
VULVAE										
31	+							+	1	Nag' Khōr Rahma el-Qiblī
71			+					+	1	Nag' Abū Tarfa
81			+			+			1	Nag' Kabūsh
273	+							+	2	Nag' esh-Shīma
384	+					+			1	Korosko East Station
402	+					+			5	Korosko East Station
480	+		+					+	1	Korosko East Station
482			+					+	4	Korosko East Station
483			+					+	7	Korosko East Station
587		+						+	1	Korosko East Station
732			+				+		1	Korosko East Station
748			+					+	2	Korosko East Station
950				+		+			1	Korosko East Station
Sine No.			+			+			1	Korosko East Station
"SYMBOLICAL" COITIONS										
81			+			+			2	Nag' Kabūsh
266				+				+	1	Nag' esh-Shīma
949					+		+		1	Es-Sahrīgāt
Sine No.			+			+			1	Tāfa
SEXUAL INTERCOURSE										
103	+						+	+	1	Nag' Marsāb

- ¹ RACHEWILTZ, *Black Eros*, p. 25.
- ² POSENER, SAUNERON, YOYOTTE, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Civilization: s. v. Sexual Behaviour*.
- ³ VANDIER, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*. I-1, *passim*; a. o.
- ⁴ SCHÄFFER, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, pp. 55 and 326.
- ⁵ VANDIER, *La religion égyptienne*, pp. 183—186; a. o.
- ⁶ GAUTHIER, *Les fêtes du dieu Min*, p. 112.
- ⁷ HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics: s. v. Phallism*.
- ⁸ KLEBS, *Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches*, pp. 13—14.
- ⁹ JAMES, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.* I, no. 994, p. 26, pl. XXV.
- ¹⁰ CAPART, *Note sur un fragment de bas relief au British Museum*.
- ¹¹ CHABAS, *Circoncission chez les Égyptiens*.
- ¹² BADER, *La caverne Kapowafa*, p. 23, pl. 14; LEROI-GOURHAN, *Les religions de la préhistoire*, p. 94, fig. 7; GOFF, *Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia*, figs. 311 and 312; a. o.
- ¹³ GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar, Sign-list: s. v. N 41*.
- ¹⁴ *op. cit.*, s. v. N 41, note 8.
- ¹⁵ SETHE, *Die ägyptischen Pyramidentexte*. II, 1321.
- ¹⁶ Wb III, 76; I, 142.
- ¹⁷ BRUYÈRE, *Figurines féminines de l'Hathor nue égyptienne*.
- ¹⁸ HORNBLLOWER, *Predynastic Figures of Women and their Successors*.
- ¹⁹ MORENZ, *Eine Wöchnerin mit Siegelring*.
- ²⁰ KEIMER, *Remarques sur le tatouage dans l'Égypte ancienne*, p. 32.
- ²¹ PEET, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*. II, pl. XIV, nos. 1 and 2; GARSTANG, *El-Arâbah*, pl. XVII; PETRIE, *Denderah*, pl. XXI; *id.*, *Qurneh*, pl. XXXI, no. 6; a. o.
- ²² WINLOCK, *Excavations at Deir el-Bahri (1911—1931)*, pl. 35; VANDIER D'ABBADIE, *Deux ostraca figurés*, p. 30, fig. 8; a. o.
- ²³ KEIMER, *Remarques sur le tatouage dans l'Égypte ancienne*, *passim*.
- ²⁴ BRUYÈRE, *Figurines féminines de l'Hathor nue égyptienne*.
- ²⁵ DUNHAM, *Uronarti, Shalfak, Mirgissa*, pl. XXXVIII; MICHAŁOWSKI, *Faras (1961)*, fig. 9; a. o.
- ²⁶ WINLOCK, *Excavations at Deir el-Bahri (1911—1931)*, pl. 38; NEWBERRY, *Catalogue of the MacGregor Collection of Egyptian Antiquities*, no. 561; PETRIE, *Amulets*, nos. 379—382, pp. 59—60, pl. LI—LII; a. o.
- ²⁷ KEIMER, *Remarques sur le tatouage dans l'Égypte ancienne*, p. 32.
- ²⁸ *op. cit.*, figs. 17, 22, 25 and p. 31, note 1.
- ²⁹ KEIMER, *Études d'égyptologie*, fasc. III.
- ³⁰ The fact this process appeared even in rock drawings is manifested by the erotic scene from Wadi Hammamat published by Goyon in *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat*, no. 129, p. 132, pl. XXXVIII. Goyon is, however, most likely mistaken in transcribing and interpreting the short inscription accompanying the scene. The words have no erotic content ("... quatre signes hiéroglyphiques placées au dessus de la tête de la femme, comme si c'étaient des paroles prononcées par elle ...") and stand for the male name *Ns-nfr-ḥtp* — see Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*. I, p. 177, 19.
- ³¹ SCAMUZZI, *L'art égyptien au Musée de Turin*, pl. XC; J. A. OMLIN, *Der papyrus 55001 und seine satirisch-erotischen Zeichnungen und Inschriften*.

- ³² HOPFNER, Das Sexualleben der Griechen und Römer.
³³ WIEDEMANN, Das alte Ägypten, pp. 70 and 99—102; MICHAÏLIDIS, Moule illustrant un text d'Hérodote relatif au bouc de Mendes.
³⁴ LICHT, Sittengeschichte Griechenlands. II, pp. 77—79.
³⁵ op. cit., pp. 79—81; NILSSON, Geschichte der griechischen Religion. II, p. 412; a. o.
³⁶ LIDDEL, SCOTT, A Greek-English Lexicon. II, p. 1471; BUDGE, Amulets and Superstitions, p. 15; PETRIE, Amulets, p. 11; QUIBELL, Excavations at Saqqara (1905 to 1906), pp. 12—14; a. o.
³⁷ WINKLER, Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt. I, pp. 8 and 9.
³⁸ op. cit., I, pp. 13 and 16.
³⁹ op. cit. I, pl. IX, 3.
⁴⁰ WINLOCK, Ed-Dakhleh Oasis, pls. IV—V.
⁴¹ PIOTROVSKI, Drevneegipetskie nadpisi v rayone sel. Dakka i Vadi-Allaki, fig. 12.
⁴² As conveyed by dr. U. Hintze (yet unpublished find of the German expedition at Mussawarât).
⁴³ ROEDER, Debd bis Bab Kalabsche. II, pl. 115 t.
⁴⁴ HELLSTRÖM, LANGBALLE, The Rock Drawings. 1 : 2, Aa.
⁴⁵ DUNBAR, The Rock-Pictures of Lower Nubia, pl. X, fig. 43.
⁴⁶ Kindly conveyed by the authors of the so-far unpublished catalogue of rock drawings from Czechoslovak concessions in Nubia.
⁴⁷ There may be a connection with a fertility cult in the case of a graffito of a nude woman on one column of the Temple of Dakka. Next to the woman there is an engraving of a cow with a calf executed in the same technique and having the same patina — see ROEDER, Der Tempel von Dakke. II, pl. 36. A similar engraving of a nude woman was found on a piece of pottery from Ballana — see FARID, Excavations at Ballana, fig. 69, 1.
⁴⁸ Wb II, 345.
⁴⁹ GARDINER, Egyptian Grammar, Sign-list: s. v. N 41.
⁵⁰ CURTO, MARAGIOGLIO, RINALDI, Kalabsha, pp. 25—26, pl. XIV a, b.
⁵¹ STRZYGOWSKI, Koptische Kunst, pl. XXVI, no. 9039.
⁵² EMERY, KIRWAN, The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul. II, pl. 109.
⁵³ KROMER, Römische Weinstuben in Sayala (Unternubien), p. 76, fig. 16.
⁵⁴ RACHEWILTZ, Black Eros, pp. 13—25.
⁵⁵ WINKLER, Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt. I, pp. 25 and 27; op. cit. II, p. 14; Winkler ascribes kind of rock drawings to the so-called "Eastern Invaders" and "Early Nile-valley Dwellers" and many to the Arabs, too.
⁵⁶ WINKLER, Völker und Völkerbewegungen, fig. 24, pp. 10—16.
⁵⁷ op. cit., p. 15.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AJSL:	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.
ASAE:	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.
BCH:	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.
Bibl. égyptol.:	Bibliothèque égyptologique.
BIE:	Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte.
BIFAO:	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
BMSA:	Bulletin et Mémoires de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris.
BSA:	The Annual of the British School at Athens.
CGC:	Catalogue général des antiquités de l'Égypte du Musée du Caire.
JAOS:	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JARCE:	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.
JEA:	The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
Rec. Trav.:	Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes.
RLV:	Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte.
SNR:	Sudan Notes and Records.
Wb:	Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache.
WZKM:	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZÄS:	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.

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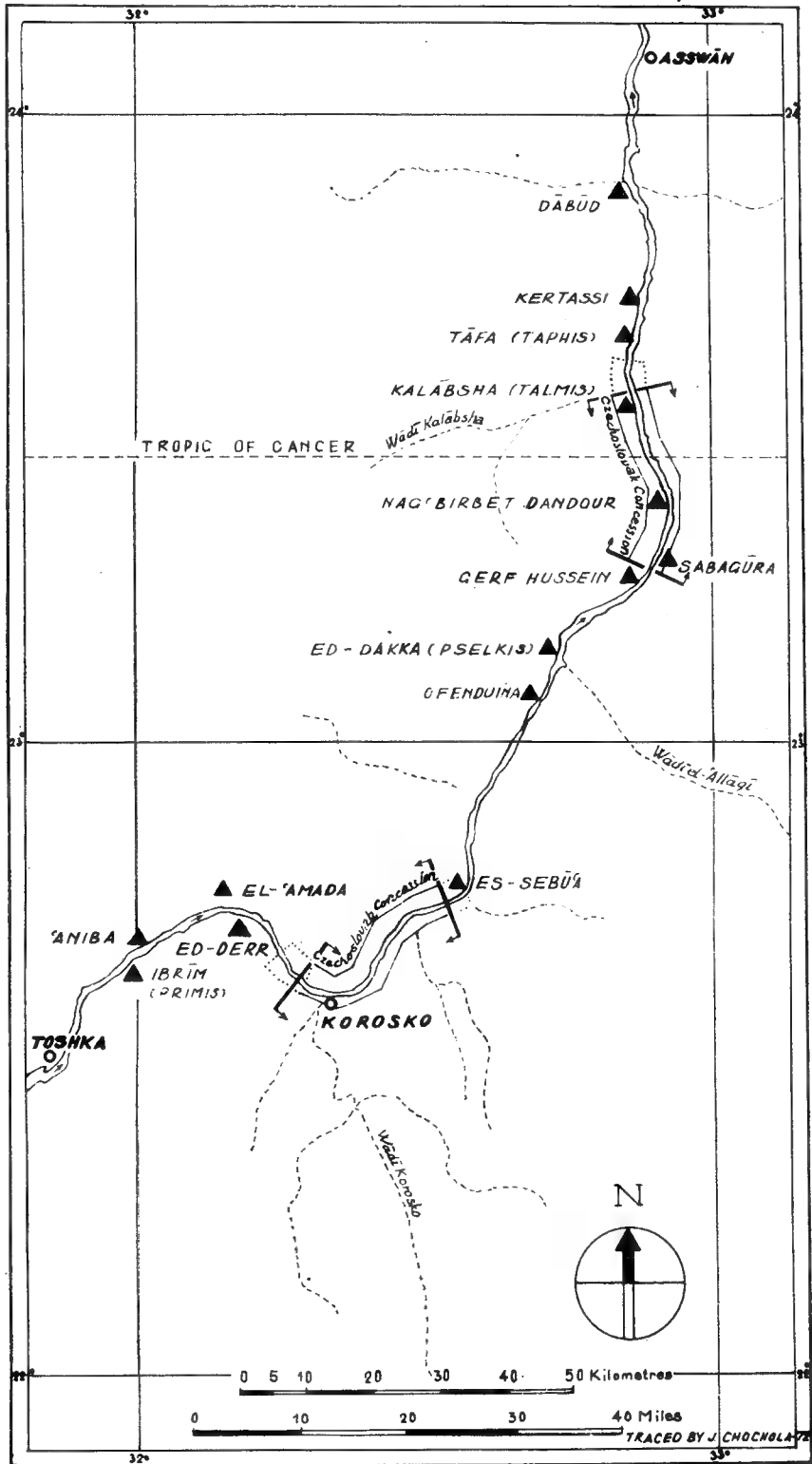
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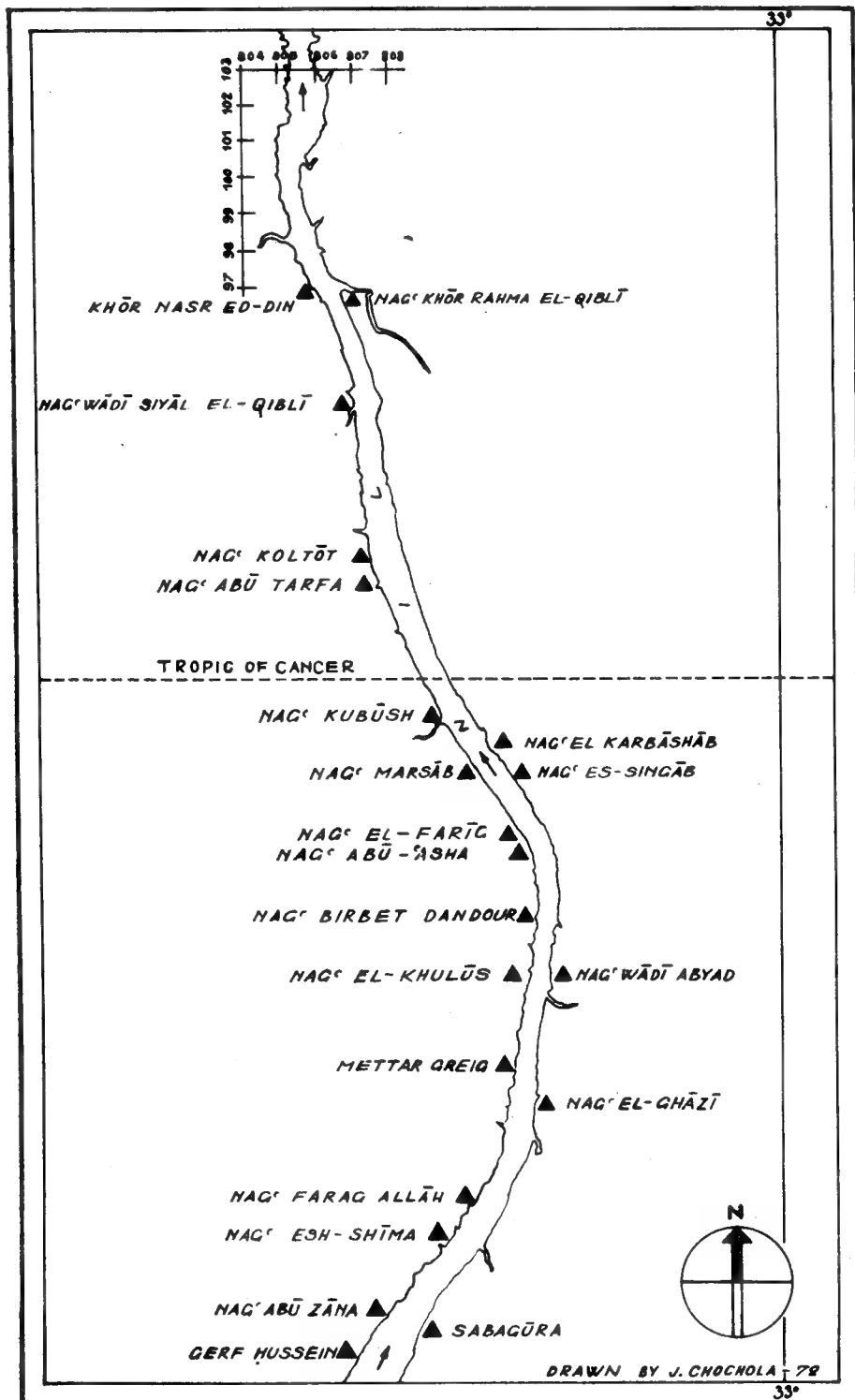
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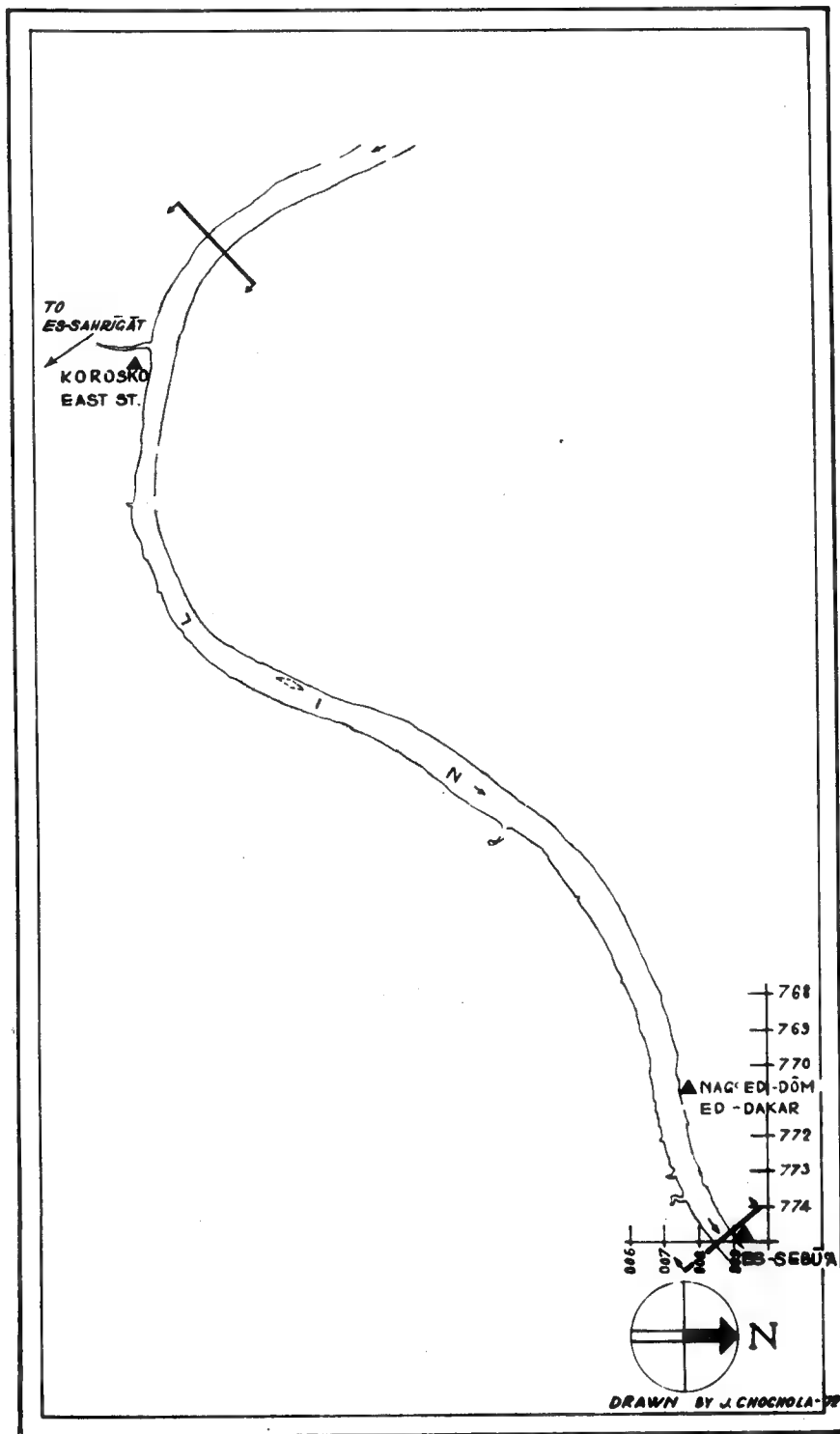
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Map
No. II



SOUTHERN CZECHOSLOVAK CONCESSION IN NUBIA

Map
No. III



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**MIROSLAV VERNER
SOME NUBIAN PETROGLYPHS
ON CZECHOSLOVAK CONCESSIONS**

Řídí Milan Hrala (předseda),
Jaroslav Porák (tajemník)
s redakční radou.

Návrh obálky a grafická úprava
Jaroslav Příbramský

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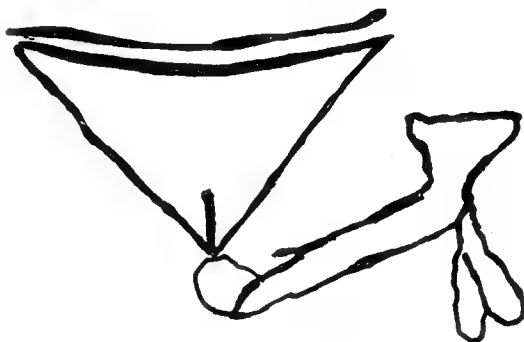
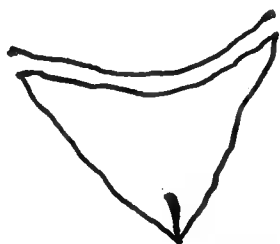
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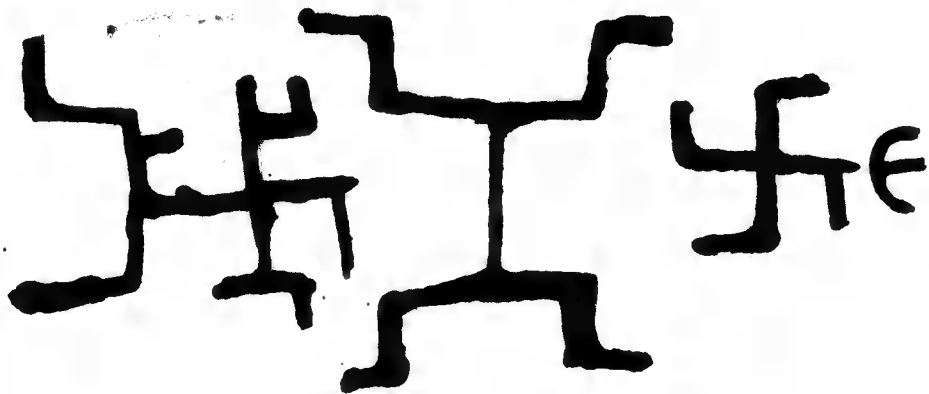
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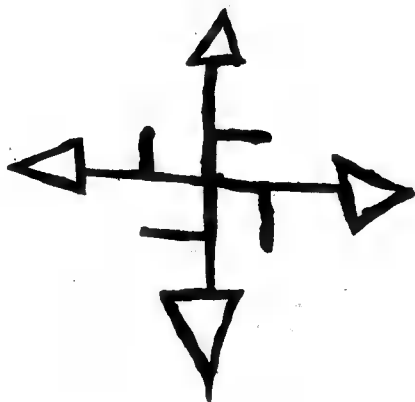


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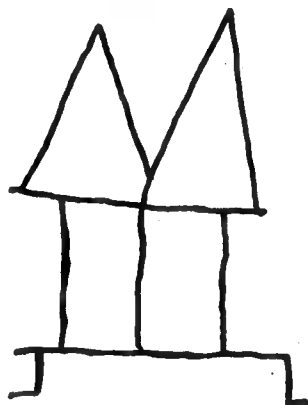


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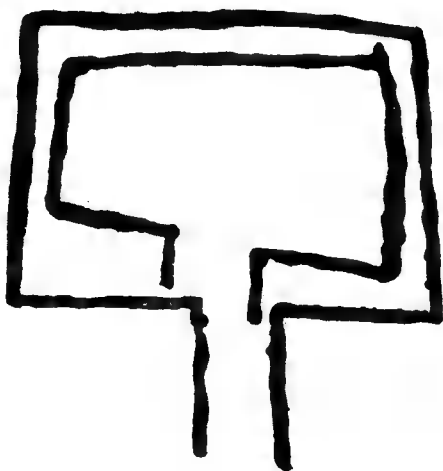
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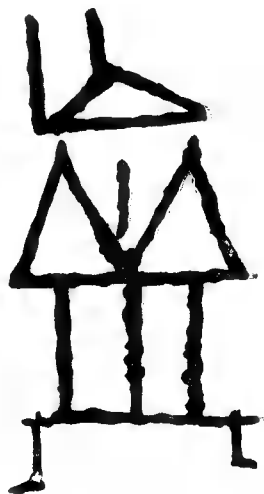
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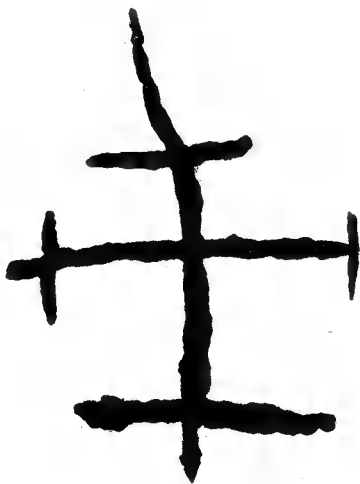
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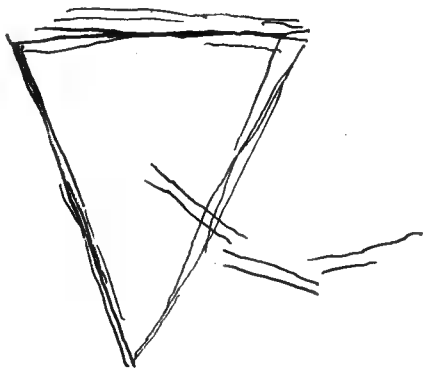
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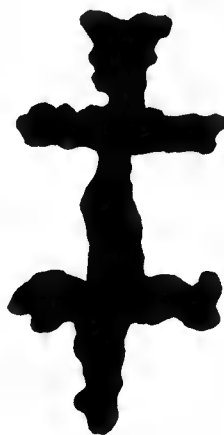
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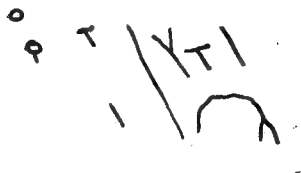
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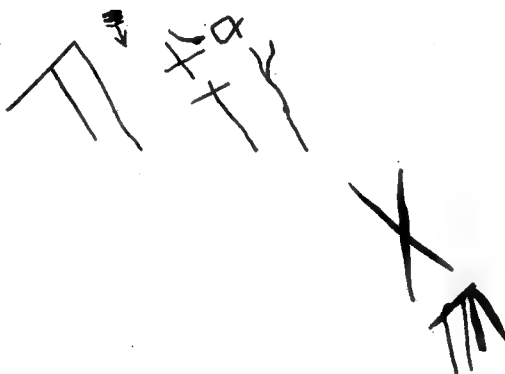
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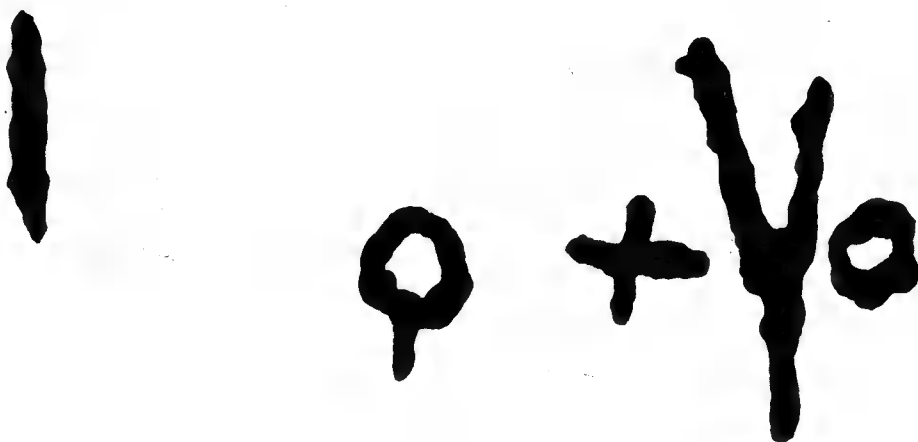


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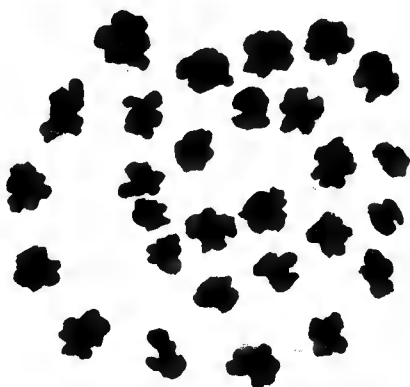




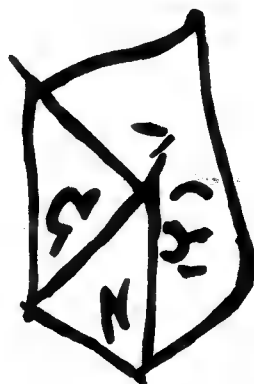
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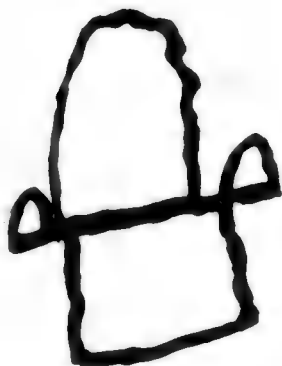
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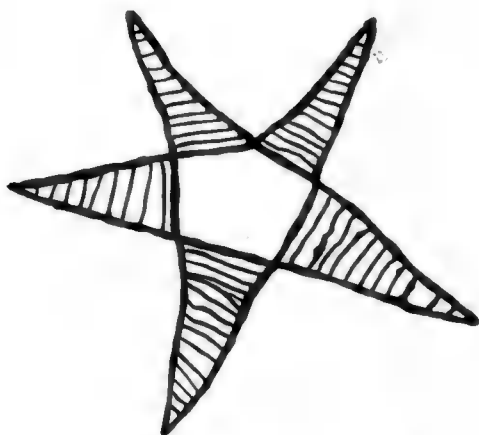
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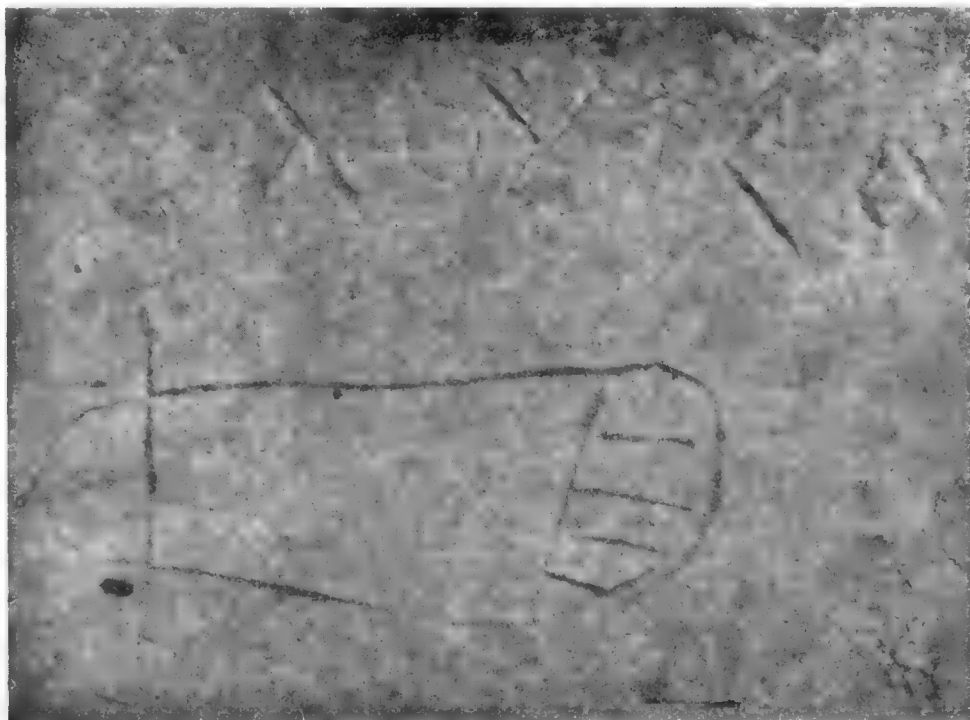


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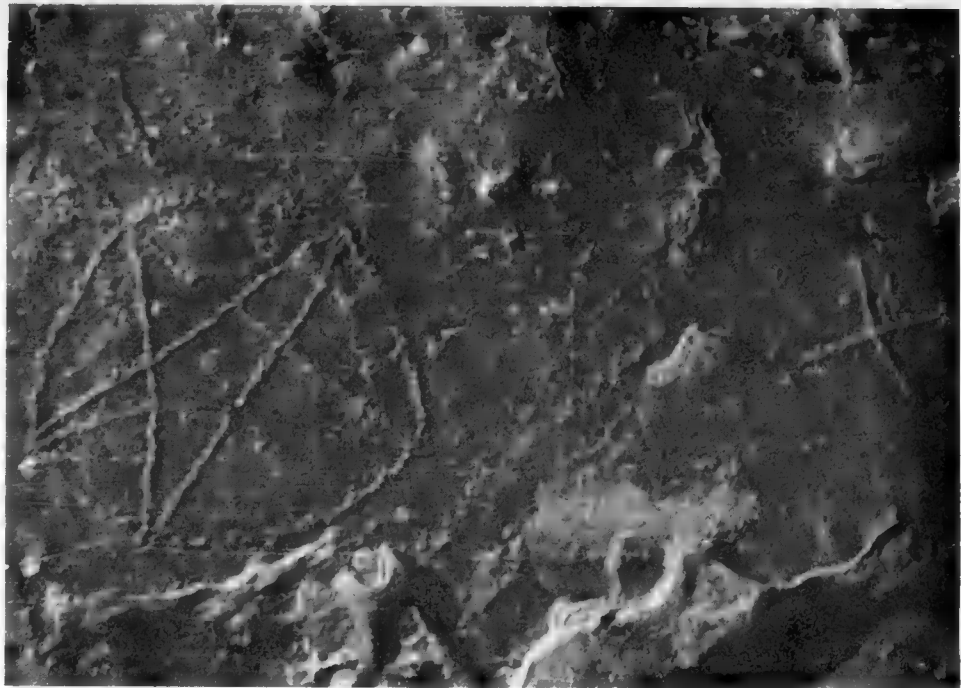


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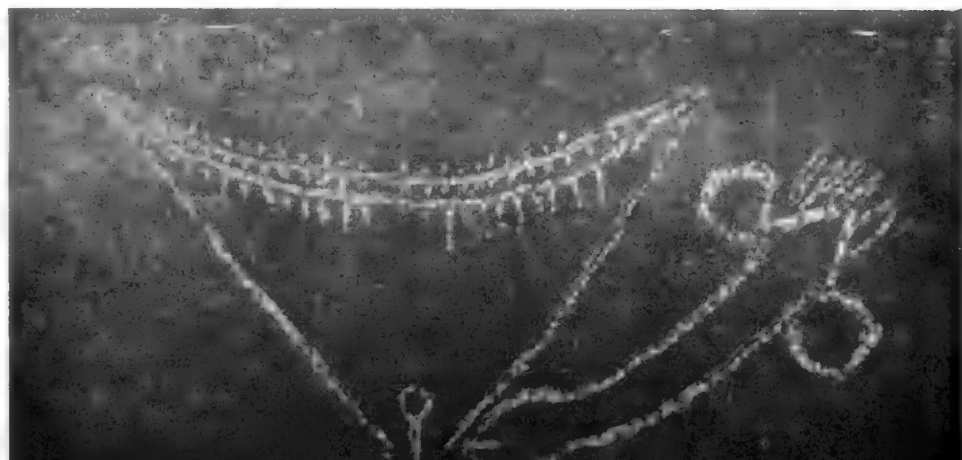
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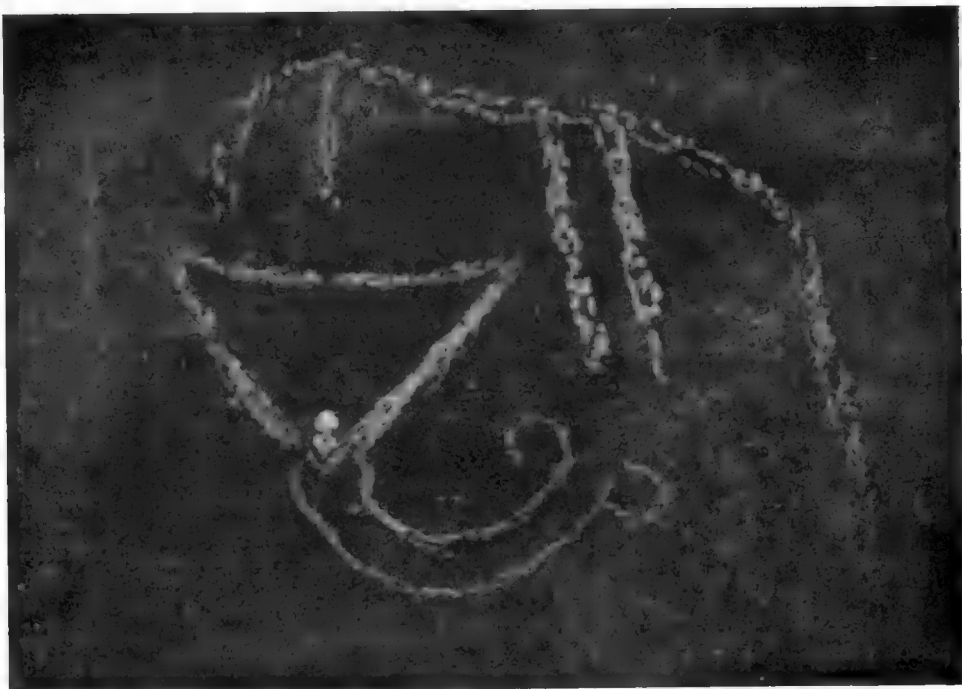


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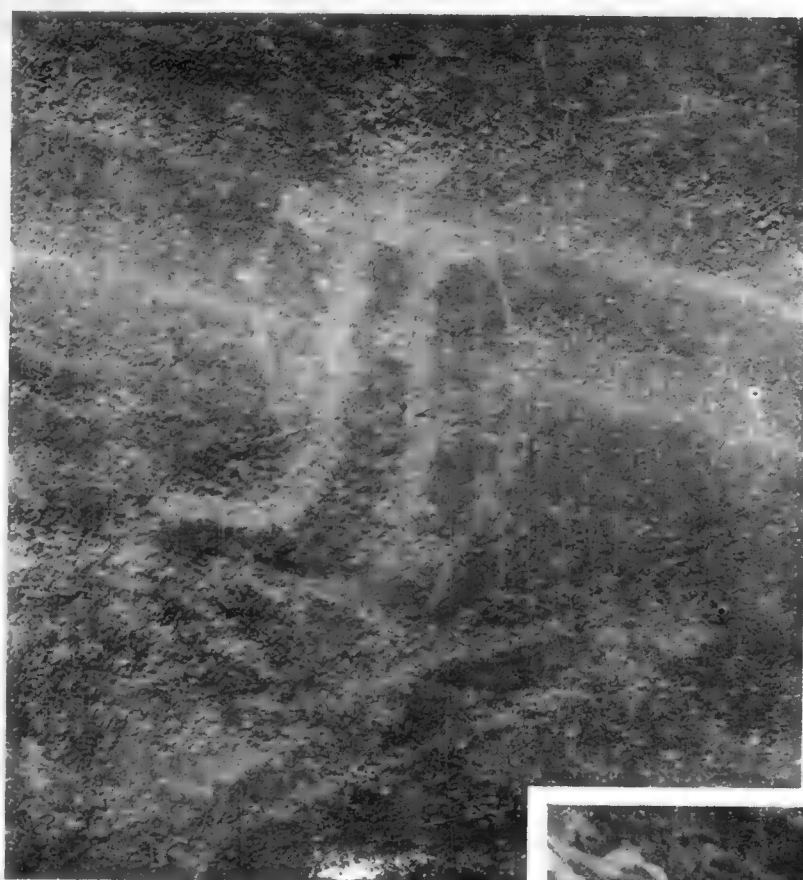




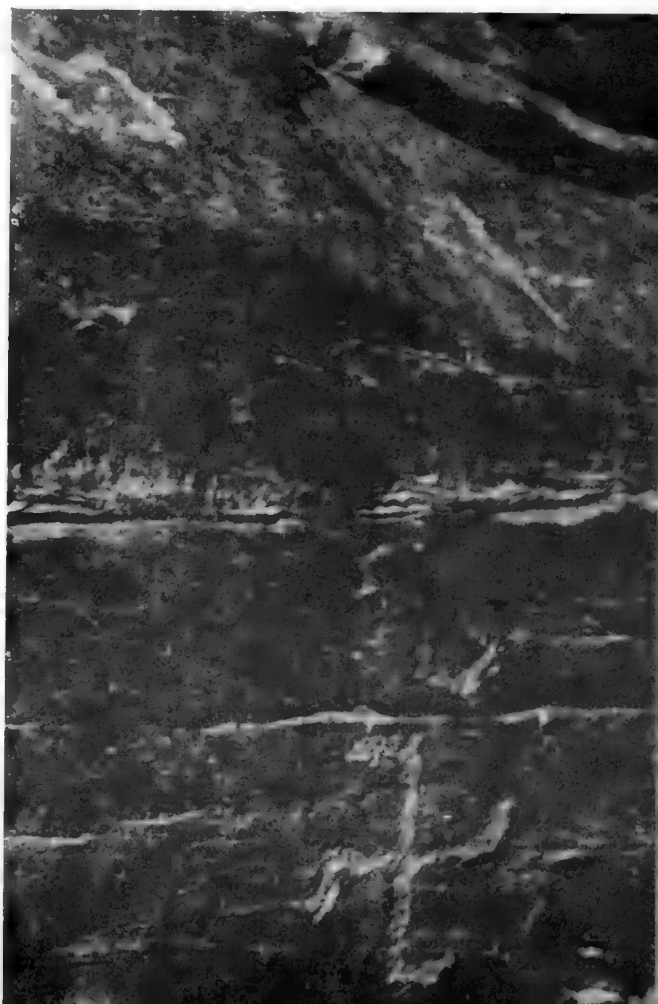
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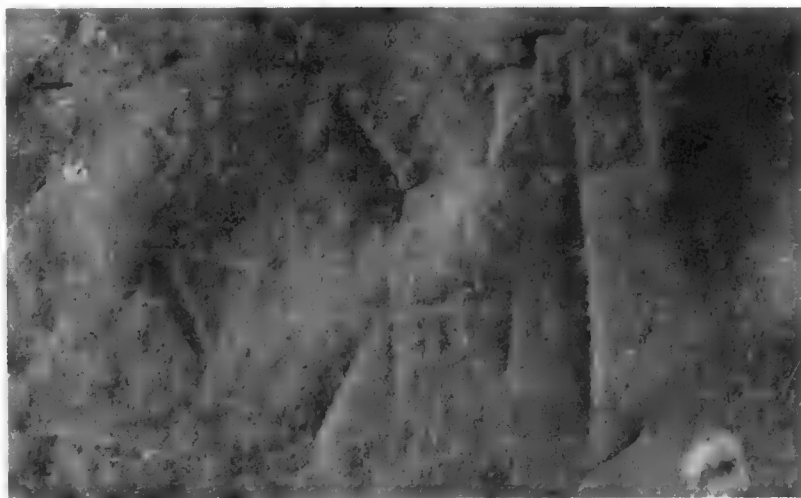
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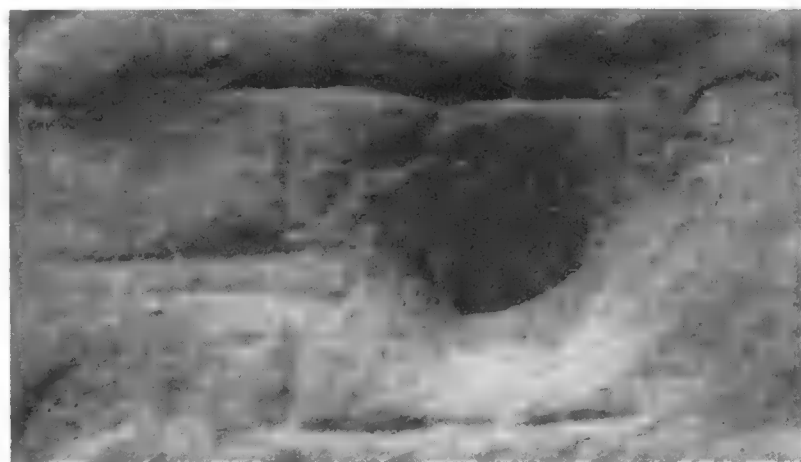
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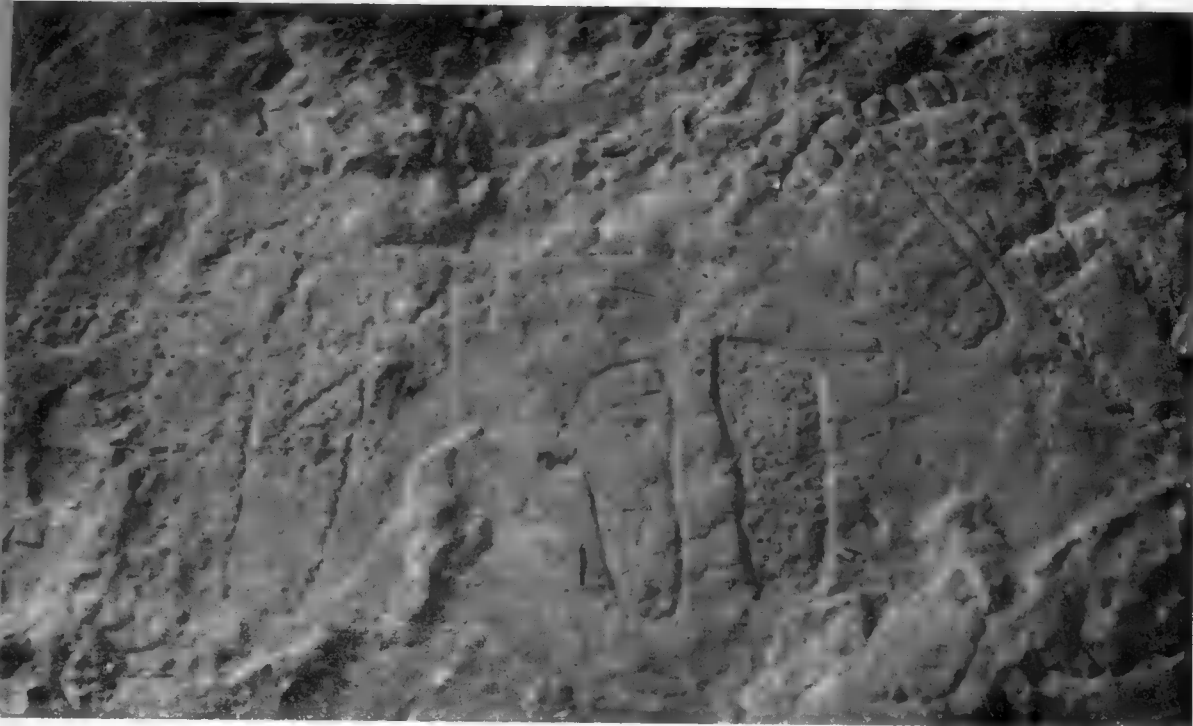
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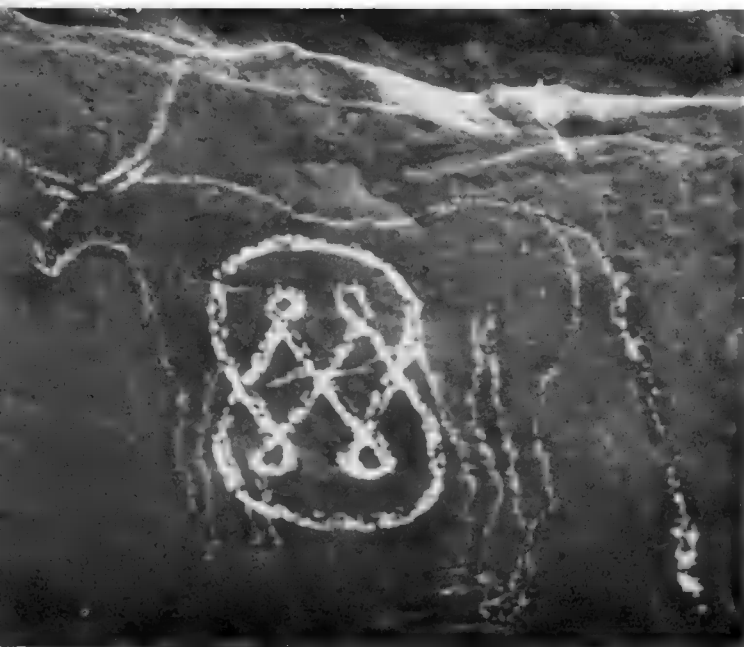
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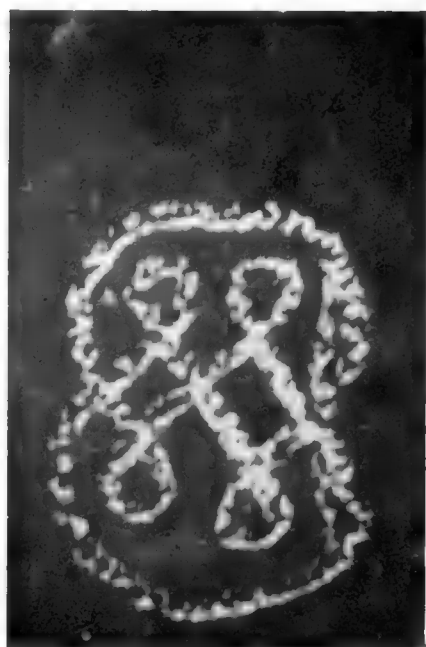


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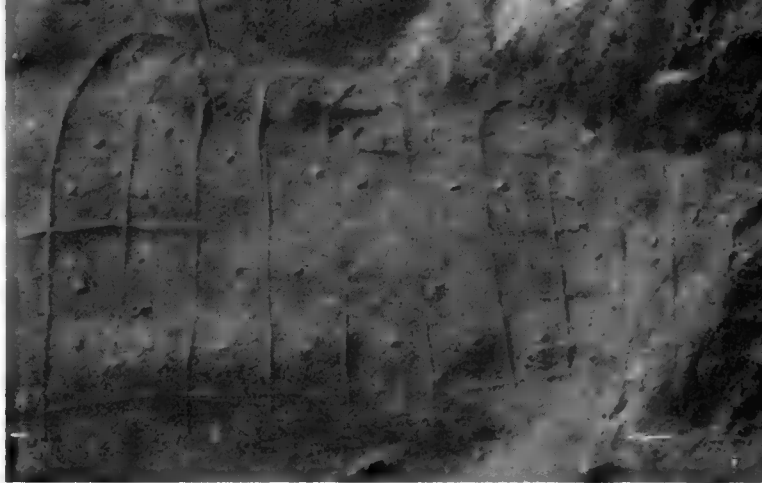
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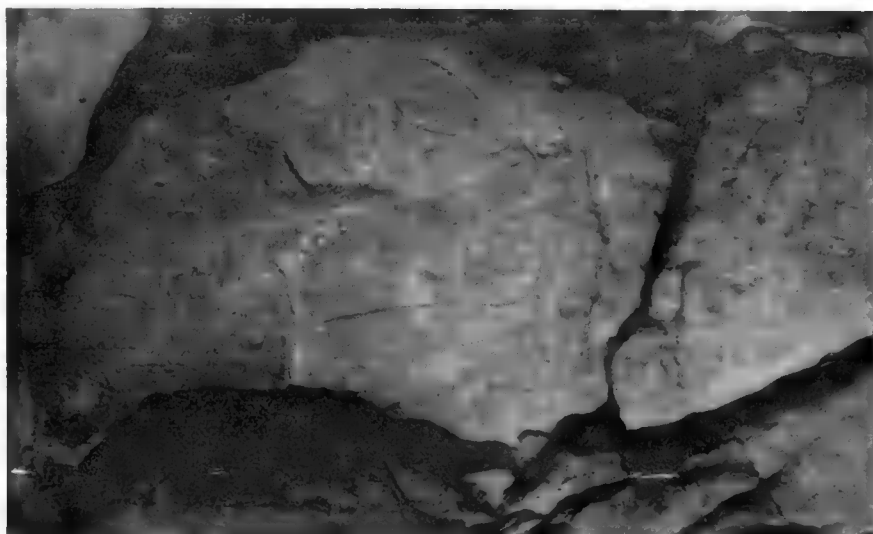
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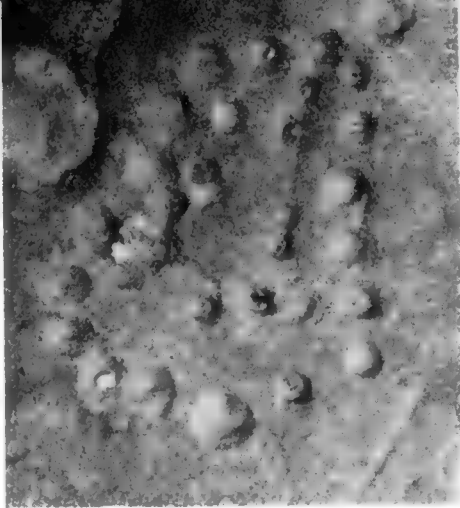
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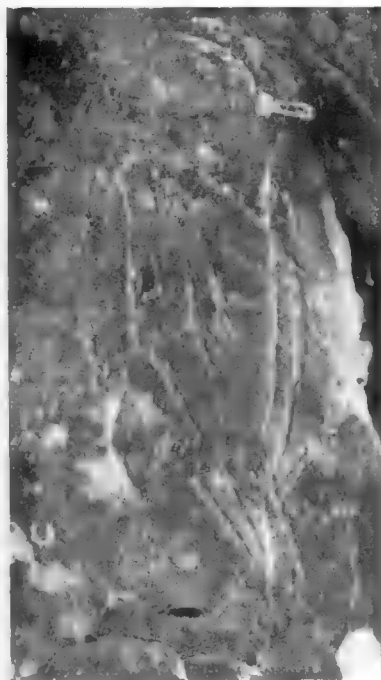
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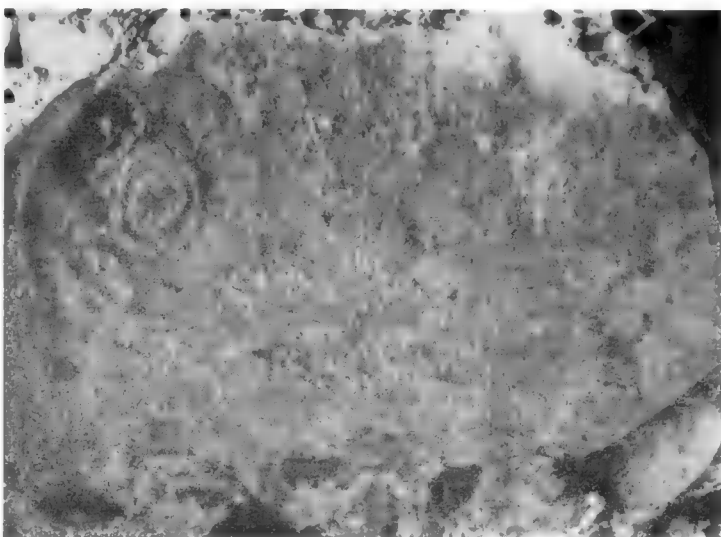
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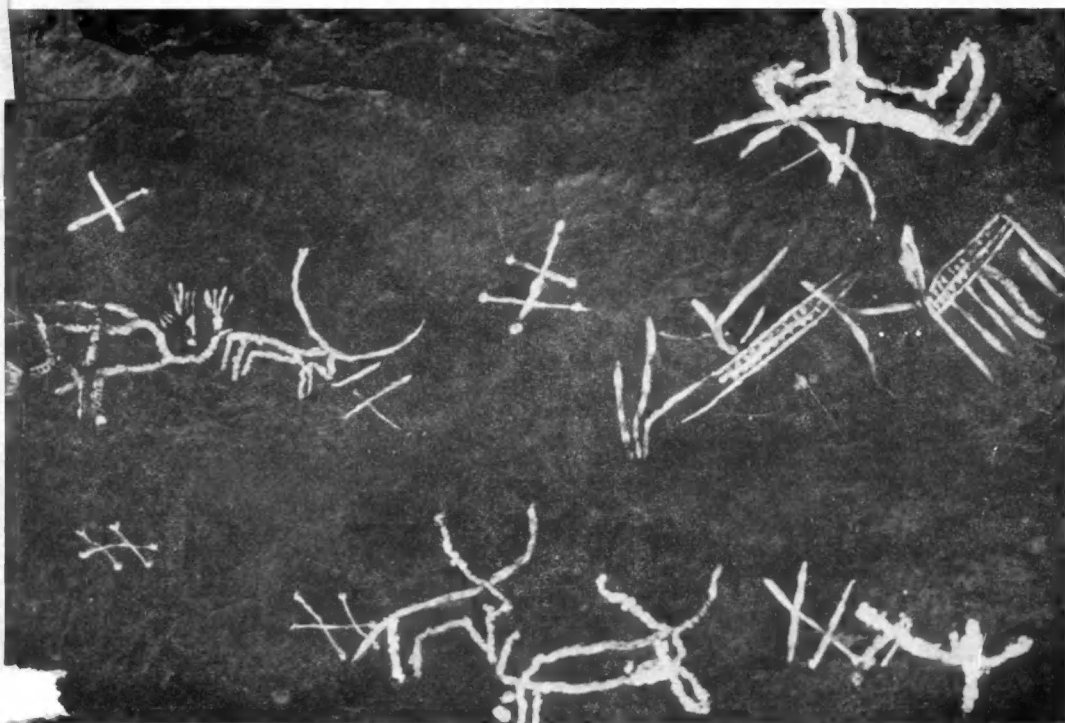
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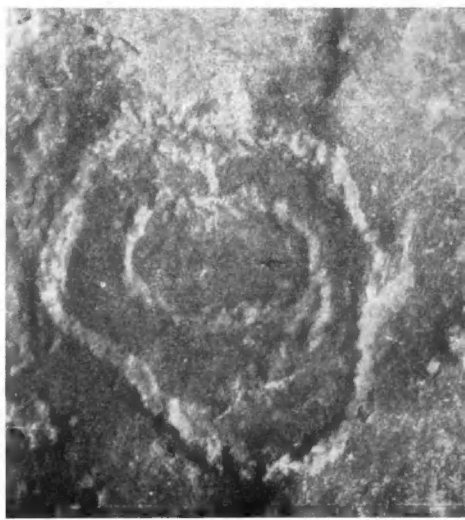


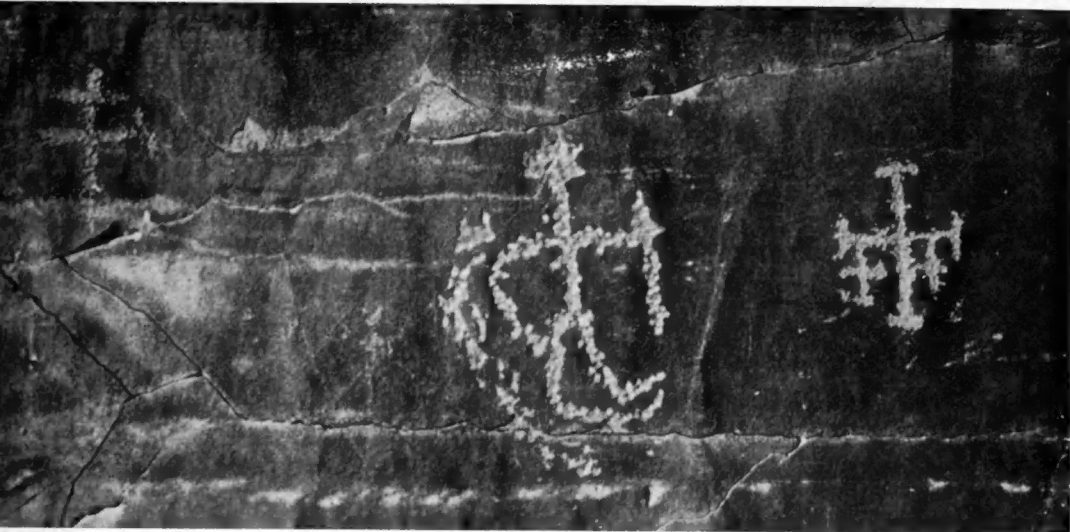
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